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DE GRUYTER OPEN

Published by De Gruyter Open Ltd, Warsaw/Berlin
Part of Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Munich/Boston

ISBN: 978-3-11-046823-6
e-ISBN: 978-3-11-046824-3

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek. The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

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www.degruyteropen.com

Cover illustration: © Melton Prior

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Metric Conversions

Throughout this study weights and measures have been expressed in contemporary terms: imperial before 1970 and metric thereafter.

The British pound and, after 1900, the Australian pound, was the basic unit of currency in Victoria until the change to decimal currency in 1966 when one pound was worth two dollars. Contemporary monetary units have been expressed in this study. Before 1966, these were pounds, shillings, and pence. The following conversion factors apply:

1 inch (in) = 0.0254 m
1 foot (ft) = 0.305 m
1 yard (yd) = 0.914 m
1 rod = 5½ yards = 16½ feet = 5.0292 m
1 mile = 1,609.4 m

1 ounce (oz) = 28.3 g
1 pound (lb) = 454 g
1 ton = 1.02 tonne

1 bushel (bus) = 0.0364 cubic metres

1 rood = ¼ acre
1 perch = 30¼ square yards = 25.29 sq. metres
1 acre = 0.405 ha

1 penny (1d) = 0.83 cents
12 pence = 1 shilling
1 shilling = 10 cents
1 pound (£) = 2 dollars

1 Aboriginal Mission Tourism in Nineteenth Century Victoria

This study is concerned with the history of tourism at the Coranderrk Aboriginal station that operated near Healesville some 65km northeast of Melbourne from 1863 until its formal closure in 1924. The title of this account is 'A peep at the Blacks'. It is adapted from the title of an 1877 newspaper article written by John Stanley James, the nineteenth century travel writer, who used the pseudonym 'The Vagabond'. He was one of many journalists, researchers, and dignitaries who visited Coranderrk during its 60 years of operation to gaze at the residents. Coranderrk was one of six reserves that operated across Victoria in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Figure 1.1). Although all six reserves were places of Aboriginal incarceration, Coranderrk, because of its proximity to Melbourne, became emblematic in shaping the views of Melbourne-based policy makers (Lydon, 2002: 81). Many tropes or themes mediated the tourist gaze – the view that they were both a 'fossil race' and a 'dying race' made it imperative that they be researched before they became non-existent.

Before commencing a fine-grained study of Coranderrk it is necessary to take heed of Hall's and Tucker's (2004: 8) observation that 'Any understanding of the creation of a destination... involves placing the development of the representation of that destination within the context of the historical consumption and production of places and the means by which places have become incorporated within the global capital system'. In terms of an international culture network, Lydon (2002) has shown how images of Coranderrk Aboriginal people became scientific currency within an international network extending as far afield as England, Italy, Russia, and France. It is no surprise, therefore, that many of the international visitors to Coranderrk came from some of these countries. Consistent with this view, in order to position tourism at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station within an historical context, it is necessary to document tourist visitation at similar stations and mission sites in colonial Victoria.

1.1 Aboriginal Mission Tourism in Colonial Victoria: an Overview

Carolane (2008) in his study of tourism at Lake Tyers in the 1870s and 1880s has argued that this was a time when the parallel interests of experiencing the environment and viewing Aboriginal people converged into Aboriginal mission tourism. Melburnians with an interest in Victoria's coast were drawn to Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck in Gippsland whereas those with an interest in fern gullies and mountain ranges were drawn to Healesville and Coranderrk. Carolane has shown how Lake Tyers became a favourite tourist attraction and the missionary John Bulmer responded to this interest by building a guesthouse and arranging connecting transport to the newly constructed railway line to Lakes Entrance. Indeed, he has argued that missionaries such

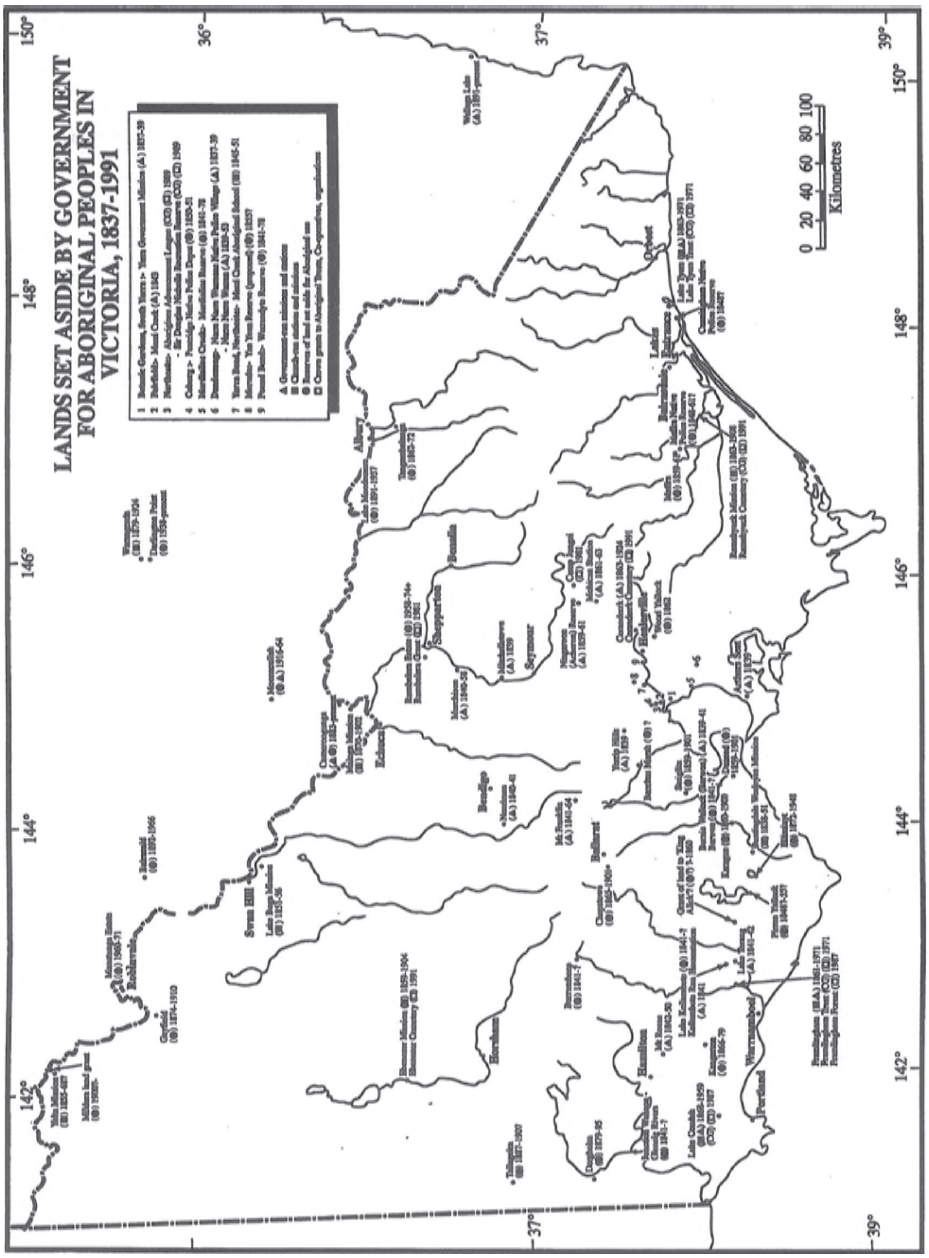

Figure 1.1: Stations and reserves set aside for Aboriginal peoples in Victoria.

as Bulmer saw Aboriginal mission tourism as a means by which the general public could become re-engaged in the Aboriginal cause: the 'managers nervously opened their gates to visitors in the hope that it might raise public awareness, provide an opportunity to work and create some lively station activity' (Carolane, 2008: 161).

French visitor G. Verschuur (1891: 33) visited Lake Tyers Aboriginal station in late 1888 and his account is of interest because he provides full details of the guided tour given to him by the school master who was 'only too happy to point out to me everything relating to the life and education of the natives confided to the care of himself and a clergyman living near the church'. Verschuur stayed at a hotel near the Mission Station that had been built to attract travellers. At the station 'a church has been erected, and a school, and the education of the children, and even adults, is carried on in a most praiseworthy manner. As for the old people, they are left to vegetate in their huts, smoking their pipes, plunged in a half comatose state; it would only be [a] waste of time to trouble their last years of existence by instruction' (Verschuur 1891: 38). The tour of inspection began with the wooden houses of families, followed by the old people's quarters and finished with the school.

Healy (2006) has examined tourism at Lake Tyers in the 1930s when it was the only Aboriginal station operating in Victoria. When Coranderrk closed in 1924 many families were relocated to Lake Tyers. Many of the ex-Coranderrk residents brought with them a significant history of involvement in the tourism industry, something that will be demonstrated in this book, and there is little doubt that they contributed to the flourishing tourism at Lake Tyers. The visitors to Lake Tyers at this time 'numbered thousands per year' (Healy, 2006: 29) and authorities attempted to control the visitation by reducing visiting days from three to two a week despite opposition from local business operators who believed they would suffer from less tourist traffic.

Ramahyuck Aboriginal station, also in Gippsland, was another significant site where Aborigines and Europeans encountered each other: 'by and large, on occasions which were ritualised or orchestrated, as in church – where they sat separately – or when European visitors came as holiday excursionists or to attend annual picnics or some commemoration or another' (Attwood, 1989: 115). Attwood (1989) discusses the phenomena of visitors to Ramahyuck and other missions and states that 'visitors recorded the way they objectified the Aborigines in the visitors' book' (Attwood, 1989: 115). Anthony Trollope, the renowned colonial travel writer, visited Ramahyuck mission between 1871 and 1872 and wrote of his experiences (Trollope, 1967). 'I did not think that Rama Yuck [sic] was flourishing, though I was convinced by what I saw that nothing was wanting to it which philanthropy and devotion could supply' (Trollope, 1967: 499). Dr James Moorhouse, the Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, visited Ramahyuck in 1877, where he experienced his first contact with Aboriginal Australians. Visiting the Lake Tyers mission, Moorhouse was awestruck by its setting, the Aborigine's own choice at a site north of Lakes Entrance, calling it 'the fairest gem of the Gippsland Lakes' (Sturrock, 2005: 144). English tourist Walter Ryland visited Ramahyuck in December 1882 where he found seven or eight fami-

lies of 'coloured people' living in small modern wooden houses that had been especially erected for them by the Victorian government. He noted that the 'Aboriginals in Victoria are only very few in number, and they are now rapidly decreasing in that respect. ... The few natives we saw at Rumayack [sic], cannot be commended for either the beauty of their physique, or for the expressions on their faces' (Ryland, 1886: 167). John Stanley James, a.k.a. 'The Vagabond' and 'Julian Thomas', was another travel writer of the colonial period who published papers on missions and missionary work after visiting mission sites, such as Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers (Cannon, 1969, Attwood, 1989).

Maloga Mission station on the banks of the Murray River was another tourist attraction, so much so 'that special steamer excursions came from Echuca' (Cato, 1976: 247). The *Riverine Herald* on 3 January 1881 stated that, 'the most popular of the excursions on New Year's Day was without doubt that of the steamer *Ruby* to the Aboriginal Mission Station at Maloga' (Cato, 1976: 247).

Although Giordano Nanni (2011) has argued that Victoria's Aboriginal missions and reserves quickly became isolated islands geographically surrounded by a sea of white settlements, farms and private property, this isolation requires a nuanced understanding, for it is wrong to consider that all missions and stations in Victoria were isolated to the same extent – the Coranderrk station is only 65 kilometres from the centre of Melbourne, whereas outlying stations such as Ebenezer and Lake Tyers were 400 and 350 kilometres respectively.

Coranderrk and Lake Tyers and other mission stations or reserves, were sites where mission and tourism crossed paths, however Ebenezer was not one of these stations as has been shown by Clark & McRae (2014). The Moravian missionaries deliberately selected the Lake Hindmarsh location because of its isolation in the sparsely-settled Mallee and the enforcement of Moravian policies that forbade visitation other than by clerical and government officials, reinforced Ebenezer's isolation. Ebenezer Mission differed from other Victorian missions and stations for unlike government run missions it was administered by the Moravian Church who did not encourage public visitation. In North America, the Moravian run Native American missions, were not initially embraced by the settler communities in which they operated (Westmeier, 1997). This meant that the Moravian missions became insular and self-contained sites, which avoided contact with the outside world. The experience of traveller Richard Tester, who visited the earlier Moravian mission at Lake Boga in the early 1850s *en route* to the goldfields and was refused hospitality, supports the assertion that visitors to Moravian missions were not encouraged. The missionaries stated in their encounter with Tester 'the rules of our society forbid any white men to camp within a mile of the station' (Tester, No Date). In this aspect the Moravian missionaries were strident in attempting to conceal Ebenezer from the gaze of tourists and the station's geographical isolation and the absence of any sizable settlements nearby assisted the missionaries in maintaining the mission's invisibility and limiting external visitation.

Unlike Coranderrk and Lake Tyers, Ebenezer was never the concerted focus of tourism in the nineteenth century – the Aboriginal residents were not brought into an informal cash economy in which they made and sold Aboriginal souvenirs such as boomerangs and spears and neither were cultural performances commoditised, such as boomerang throwing and fire making (Clark & McRae, 2014). Ebenezer did not have 'open days' in which the institution was open to the public and residents and visitors could interact. On the contrary, the Moravian missionaries did all in their power to keep the station separate from the wider secular community, even going so far as to ensure that the road to the station did not become a public thoroughfare. Jensz (2010: 187) has discussed the tension that the missionaries experienced between a general curiosity in Victoria over the work of the various mission stations, and local and international visitors keen to see their work and to see curiosities of the 'dying' race, and their need to promote their work to ensure funding continued, and that of unwanted attention that had the potential to damage the good work of the mission and subject the Aboriginal people to what they feared were debased situations. Tourism and interaction with visitors was anathema to the worldview of the Moravian missionaries – the 'heathen' Aborigines 'needed to be saved from traditional lives and kept away from debauched European customs and people' (Jensz, 2010: 141) – for the Aboriginal people the cost of living on Ebenezer was the strict regulation of their lives by the missionaries who actively sought to mould them into morally upstanding replicas of themselves.

Coranderrk's proximity to Melbourne privileged its position in Victoria in terms of the focus of visitor attention – this was especially the case in the early twentieth century when Melbourne was Australia's Capital city. As this study will show in numerous instances Coranderrk was the only Aboriginal station frequented by some international visitors to Australia. Coranderrk became a primary attraction for many visiting dignitaries and it is rare to find examples of dignitaries visiting other Victorian Aboriginal stations and not visiting Coranderrk. Exceptions include Anthony Trollope (1967), who visited Ramahyuck mission between 1871 and 1872, Walter Ryland (1886), and G. Vershuur (1892).

What all six stations had in common was their temporal confinement, as explained by Nanni (2011: 11–12), 'with rules and regulations framed in an unseen matrix of temporal control. Temporal curfews sought to establish the dominance of the new colonial timetables of agriculture, pastoralism and Christianity, whilst subsuming the pre-colonial calendars, rituals and economies of Aboriginal societies'. Donnelly (2011: 65.1) has characterized the settlement of Victoria's Aboriginal people onto stations such as Coranderrk as 'a colonial project of social engineering' and she considers each station to be 'a place of refuge, and of restraint. In its more complex and elaborate objectives, it was a place where Aboriginality could be observed, documented and redefined. No gulag, it was nevertheless a place of power and conflict'.

An underlying imperative of government policy was the eventual destruction of traditional Aboriginal hunting and gathering lifestyles – Aboriginal people had

been dispossessed of their native lands, now all that remained was to wrest them from their traditional praxis of hunting and gathering. Central to this praxis was the freedom to exploit the seasonal abundance of food resources. Thus a surface right – the ability of the land-owner to enjoy the current use of their land – was essential. European invasion necessarily meant a restriction of living space, and restraint of the right of the Aboriginal people to their own way of life and the loss of their freedom to develop in accordance with their own individuality. The transformation of the Aboriginal way of life was necessary for the transplantation of settler capitalism (Clark, 1982). The immediate micro-effects of the forced articulation of Aboriginal hunting and gathering and settler-capitalism included dispossession which amounted to proletarianization or the separation of the producer from their land (their means of production); restriction of access to food resources or an undermining or reduction of the ability of hunting and gathering to provide subsistence; a decrease in time available for traditional subsistence activities; decrease in traditional subsistence skills and knowledge; restriction of traditional seasonal movements; depopulation; generation of mixed-descent children; Aboriginal society became a dependent variable with respect to the larger forces of the settler Australian and world economy; imposition of different environmental conditions such as clothing and housing; and desecration of sacred places and an inability to perform, freely, rituals and ceremonies.

The movement of Aboriginal station residents was tightly controlled by station managers; visits between stations were permitted so long as they conformed to pastoral and agricultural calendars or timetables – 'passes' to travel were issued by managers to travel during shearing and harvest time, but not for Aboriginal hunting-time, fishing-time or corroboree-time; movement was regulated by the sensibilities of the market economy (Nanni, 2011: 15). The traditional Aboriginal mode of production was 'relegated to the secondary category of leisure and recreation', and only permitted during 'residual' time (Nanni, 2011: 17). Hunting and gathering was no longer a threat to settler-society as it had been reclassified as leisure activities. Assimilation to European ways meant conforming to orthodox temporal boundaries between work, play, and prayer. At Coranderrk, for example, in 1881, a good day's work consisted of seven hours of labour, from nine to one and from two to five, with Saturday a full holiday when the residents were free to pursue traditional activities such as hunting and gathering. The residual time after necessary 'work' and devotions had been met, came to be known as 'time off'. In these periods the Aboriginal people were free to pursue pre-colonial Aboriginal activities such as corroborees, hunting, fishing, spear-making, tree-climbing and basket-making (Nanni, 2011: 18). Hunting and fishing and traditional games were tolerated on most Aboriginal stations, so long as they respected the temporal boundaries set aside for 'leisure' and 'recreation'. Indeed, traditional hunting and gathering was being subsumed and subordinated to settler capitalism. Of Coranderrk R. Brough Smyth, the secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines reported, 'Many of the Aborigines gladly employ themselves in their

leisure hours in fishing and the streams near Coranderrk are certainly such to tempt sportsmen to indulge in this pastime' (Victoria, 1871: 8).

The transition of hunting and gathering from activities essential to meeting the basic needs of families and communities to recreational activities to be enjoyed at leisure and play was complete when these activities became the focus of tourism consumption. Boomerang throwing was no longer an essential form of hunting – it was now a spectacle of skill that entertained tourists and visitors; Aboriginal people now had 'modern' ways of lighting fires and traditional fire-making became another skill that was commoditised.

Coranderrk and other stations, with the exception of Ebenezer, became the focus of tourists and day visitors. Indeed, it is possible to argue that tourism was a logical step in the colonization of Victoria. Yet, Healy (2006: 19) cautions against romanticizing the interest in Aboriginal tourism: 'The public's desire to witness and incorporate Aboriginal performance and material culture was based on a very restricted understanding: evidence of cross-cultural influence on Indigenous cultural practices meant that they were no longer seen as authentically Aboriginal, and such practices took place in heavily controlled environments'.

Healy's (2006) analysis of the reaction of the Board and station management to the growth of tourism interest in Lake Tyers in the 1930s reveals a fascinating tension. The Board was seeking to take advantage of Lake Tyers' relative geographical isolation at a time when the public interest in viewing Aboriginal performances and purchasing Aboriginal arts and crafts was increasing. The Board's reaction to the growing interest in tourism at Lake Tyers is paradoxical – on the one hand it believed that Aboriginal people could not withstand contact with 'civilisation' and needed to be cared for and protected as they moved inexorably towards extinction – yet while the Board sought ultimately to assimilate Aboriginal people of mixed descent into white society, society's interest in mission tourism was encouraging traditional cultural practices that were antithetical to the Board's notions of assimilation (Healy, 2006: 21, 31). In this worldview, assimilated Aboriginal people were expected to be members of the working class, employed as servants, maids, and farmhands. The Board was convinced that their civilising efforts would be compromised if they allowed visitors to Lake Tyers who encouraged the performance of traditional songs and dance and who wished to purchase 'traditional' cultural objects such as boomerangs and baskets. Instead of the commoditisation of traditional cultural activities the Board wished to see farming and housework and sewing. Cultural performances and the selling of cultural objects resisted the Board's efforts to 'civilize' Aboriginal people. The civilization process meant replacing Aboriginal corroborees with waltzes and foxtrots and picnics, and sports such as cricket and football[1] replaced those of boomerang throw-

1 Of course this seems ridiculous given the argument that Australian Rules football has its origins in the Victorian Aboriginal game of Marngrook.

ing; and knitting and sewing would replace basket making. Tourist performances and tourist art and craft, regardless of their 'authenticity', were vestiges of an uncivilised past which required erasure.

Another objection the Board had regarding mission tourism was the economic independence it offered Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people were able to exploit the presence of tourism through the sale of distinctive artefacts and staged performances (Kleinert, 2012: 91). Tourism also permitted the maintenance of cultural relationships: cultural commodity production allowed Aboriginal people to work collaboratively and draw upon their cultural heritage (Kleinert, 2012: 92). The fact remained that Aboriginal people could make more money through tourism than through farm labour. Interaction with tourists also provided the Aboriginal residents with a means to vent their opposition to Board policies and practices, or as the manager of Lake Tyers, Major Glen described it, tourism gave them the opportunity 'to get some misguided people to lend a ready ear to their imaginary grievances' (Healy, 2006: 32). As Kleinert (2012: 99), has shown at Lake Tyers, Aboriginal interaction with tourists had the potential of being subversive – tourism offered an 'alternative base for political action'.

The ability of Aboriginal people to respond successfully to the opportunities offered to them by tourism challenged the stereotypical views permeating Board policies that Aboriginal people were 'abject' and helpless and destined to die out. Denis Byrne (1996: 86) has argued that the Aboriginal response to mission tourism repudiated conventional views that Aboriginal people were unable to adapt to change. At Lake Tyers the manager responded by reducing the number of visiting days from three to two per week. The local non-Aboriginal community voiced their opposition to this change, arguing that the reduced tourism traffic threatened their businesses. The Lake Tyers manager, Major Glen, reported on 6 February 1937 that between 26 December 1936 and 16 January 1937, 'by actual count, 2,223 visitors invaded the station, and since the latter date there were approximately another 400' (Healy, 2006: 33).

Healy's assessment is that her study of tourism at Lake Tyers Aboriginal station in the 1930s reveals that Aboriginal people were not simply passive victims of the whims and fancies of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines. Lake Tyers management believed there was a correlation between Aboriginal resistance and insolence and levels of tourist visitation. The manager, Major Glen's report on the two-month period ending 31 January 1933 noted that 'visitors are numerous this season, which partly accounts for the hostile attitude recently displayed by our charges' (Healy, 2006: 32).

> The actions of the residents of Lake Tyers demonstrate that there was cultural exchange occurring in both directions … they made choices about how they interacted with the white population. The residents could also resist and undermine the repressive policies of the Board. Regardless of the BPA's efforts, Aboriginal residents of Lake Tyers continued to have contact with the rest of the world, and to play a small but significant part in shaping Australia's national culture and identity (Healy, 2006: 34).

Carolane's (2008: 161) analysis of Healy's study is that it revealed a public that was expecting to be entertained by exotic and preserved ancient peoples, viewed in a zoo-like fashion. Focussing on Lake Tyers, Carolane investigates the inception of tourism at the station during the late 1870s-80s under the leadership of Church of England missionary John Bulmer. He characterises the 1870s as a period of scepticism towards the likely success of Aboriginal mission and tourism confronted this scepticism by offering a way for Aboriginal missions to re-engage with an increasingly apathetic public.

> In Lake Tyers, mission tourism became a dominating feature of station life. Tourists came to soak up the natural beauty of the bush landscape and view the Aborigines. While on the station, residents were not seen as a threat because they were in a controlled environment under the influence of the missionary. In the case of Lake Tyers, Bulmer adapted to this new era of mission tourism by becoming a tour guide. Tourism raised the station's profile, an appealing prospect considering the declining financial support. … Apart from the constant objectification and patronising encounters with the Aborigines by the tourists, Bulmer was compelled to devote much of his time to catering for the visitors. The daily interruption of staring crowds reinforced a paternalistic and shallow sympathy towards the residents at Lake Tyers (Carolane, 2008: 162).

Goodall (1996) has noted that reserves such as Coranderrk are often regarded as 'concentration' camps and places of repression and segregation by many Aboriginal people. This latter view resonates with van Toorn's (2006: 17) analysis that Aboriginal reserves and missions were institutions 'where ideological apparatuses such as school and church were combined with physically coercive state apparatuses such as gaol, children's dormitory, and forced labour camp. … Oppressive as they were, the reserves were viewed by many Aborigines as their only place of asylum and/or their only option for staying on or near their country'.

Van Toorn (2006: 27) in an analysis of the Lake Condah Mission station in south-western Victoria has argued that 'there is less evidence of hegemonic control than of realised or threatened coercion, less evidence of *spontaneous* consent to oppression than of *feigned* consent to avoid punishment'. (Emphasis in original). Aboriginal resistance to the control of station managers and missionaries carried the threat that '[i]ndividuals who complained could be exiled to distant reserves far from kin and homeland. A sustained chorus of Aboriginal complaints could lead to closure of the reserve altogether, and thus the loss of the whole group's traditional or adopted home' (van Toorn, 2006: 17). Sometimes, however, Aboriginal people 'dropped all pretence of gratitude, obedience, and equanimity, and protested against actions of individual reserve managers and/or oppressive policies formulated by the Protection Board' (van Toorn, 2006: 18). There are numerous instances of these ruptures at Coranderrk – especially in the years between John Green's resignation and the appointment of Joseph Shaw – Diane Barwick (1998) has thoroughly researched this period which she has dubbed 'rebellion at Coranderrk'.

Jane Lydon has made a detailed study of Coranderrk, although her concern is primarily with the ways in which the Coranderrk residents influenced and used the

ways that they were photographed for their own political ends (Jeffery, 2006: 128). She challenges the paradigm that Aboriginal people in the nineteenth century were helpless subjects exploited by photographers for academic or commercial interests. Lydon's central argument is that the images taken at Coranderrk 'reflect indigenous objectives and values, and configure an intimate form of cross-cultural communication' (Lydon, 2005: xiv). The Coranderrk residents became adept at manipulating photographic representations in their own causes.

One of the threads that will run through this study is that similar to their interplay with photography, the Aboriginal residents of Coranderrk took advantage of the opportunities offered to them by tourism, to achieve a range of goals including access to money which gave them some financial independence; and an opportunity to demonstrate that their Aboriginality was vibrant; and, when it was warranted, a means with which to advocate for their political causes and interests. In agreement with Kleinert (2012: 86), tourism is a complex and contested space – in which for Aboriginal people at Coranderrk it came to represent a practical way of 'keeping up culture' and for the many visitors it was the means to gaze upon and interact with a 'primitive' other.

Markus (1977: 177) has characterised Coranderrk as a spectacular success that revealed a rapid 'crumpling' of Aboriginal society and an equally rapid adaptation of Aborigines surviving the act of dispossession'. At Coranderrk, 'Aborigines cleared the land, fenced the property, cut a channel for irrigation and planted a wide range of crops. Visitors to the reserves in the 1870s and 1880s found the 'residents' dress, homes, and furnishings equal to those of English working men and superior to those of many selectors' (Markus, 1977: 177).

1.2 Methodology and Sources

This qualitative research into the history of tourism at Coranderrk Aboriginal station will employ a narrative form using a chronological approach to the evolution of the station. It will explore events as they unfold and provide a biography of key individuals where necessary. It will also explore a number of key 'themes' and perspectives. It will employ the method of 'thick description' which Norman Denzin (1989: 83) has described as narrative that 'presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships. ... The voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard'. For Ponteretto (2006: 542–3) 'thick description' has numerous essential components: a description and interpretation of social actions within the context in which the social actions took place; a capture of the thoughts, emotions and web of social interaction among observed participants in their operating context; assigning motivations and intentions for the said social interactions; the reader experiences a sense of verisimilitude or likelihood as they read the researcher's account; and finally it promotes 'thick interpretation' of these actions which lead to 'thick meaning' of the

findings. Fels (2011: 397) has explained thick description as 'giving the reader as much detail and context as possible, so that the reader is offered the possibility of knowing nearly as much as the researcher'.

Coranderrk as a tourist destination has left a rich archive – there are many accounts from tourists and visitors and a vast photographic archive – Lydon (2002: 78) suggests 3,000 images were taken – and an equally significant number of postcards and a small number of stereoscopes. This reveals the station's emblematic status as a 'showplace'. Photographs of Coranderrk 'were widely circulated and more abundant than images from most Aboriginal communities in Australia, so they are a valuable source for considering shifts in colonial photographic practice, and ways of seeing Aboriginal people and various relations and identities over time' (Kratz, 2008: 3043).

Published in this book are unique photographs taken by tourists and Coranderrk postcards with written comments from visitors of their impression of the station and its Aboriginal residents. Added to these visual texts are records generated by Coranderrk officials and the diaries of two officials – Christian Ogilvie and Natalie Robarts – and numerous contributions from three children of two of the superintendents of the station. A third corpus of material is the published and unpublished English and non-English accounts from the many visitors and tourists to Coranderrk – some translated and published here for the first time.

Much of the historiography of Coranderrk has been about Coranderrk's first superintendent John Green and the rebellion of the Coranderrk residents following his resignation in 1874 that led to two major enquiries in 1877 and 1881 and many changes of management until stability returned with the appointment of Joseph Shaw in 1886. This study is not about Green or the rebellion – though where Green is relevant to this study is the extent to which he encouraged the Aboriginal community to take control of its own development and the place of tourism in this co-existence and self-determination (Gunson, 2007: 31). The seeds of a developing self-determination were first sown at Acheron and Mohican, the Upper Yarra stations which preceded Coranderrk, where Aboriginal women's basket making is evidence of retention of cultural identity in a new colonial setting (McBryde in Gunson, 2007: 31). However, the rebellion is relevant to the degree that it shaped and influenced tourism at Coranderrk. A thread running through this study will be that the Aboriginal residents of Coranderrk appropriated tourism at many levels – as a means of cultural retention and identity – through performances of traditional skills such as basket making, fire making, tree climbing, and spear and boomerang throwing and through the sale of artefacts; as a means of livelihood – the sale of tourist objects supplementing their rations and what food their hunting and fishing could provide; and as a means of agency – interacting with tourists and visitors through which they could assert their self-determination by advocating their rights and interests.

1.3 Histories of Coranderrk

This book is not a comprehensive history of the Coranderrk Aboriginal station. Although Barwick's (1998) and Lydon's (2005) books are seminal publications about Coranderrk they are about a particular episode (Barwick) or a particular theme (Lydon). Diane Barwick's *Rebellion at Coranderrk*, published posthumously in 1998, is primarily concerned with the period between 1874 and 1886 when Aboriginal families 'fought to keep their land and how they finally lost it'. Jane Lydon's *Eye Contact*, published in 2005, investigated the role of photography in the cross-cultural engagement that took place at Coranderrk. Lydon focuses principally on the photography of Walter, Kruger, and Caire and to a lesser extent Giglioli, Charnay, and Fysh.

Giordano Nanni and Andrea James (2013) *Coranderrk: We Will Show the Country* is concerned with the 1881 Parliamentary Inquiry into Coranderrk; and a recent book published by the author (Clark, 2014), *The Last Matron of Coranderrk*, is a collection of primary texts including, in full, for the first time, the fourth part of matron Natalie Robarts's diary of the final years of Coranderrk Aboriginal station that covers the years 1917 to 1923. Ethel Shaw, the daughter of Joseph Shaw (teacher and manager of Coranderrk), published a history of Coranderrk in a three-part series that appeared in the *Healesville Guardian* in 1943 and in 1949 published a larger booklet for private circulation. Ethel Shaw lived at Coranderrk for some 23 years. Colin MacDonald (1963) is another Shaw descendant who has published a short history of Coranderrk – he 'spent many happy childhood holidays there' (MacDonald, 1963: 105) – although this is largely derived from Ethel Shaw's 1949 publication. Aldo Massola (1975) has published a brief history of Coranderrk in which he published extracts from the works of select visitors to Coranderrk – such as Giglioli and Charnay which he translated and published in English for the first time. In this present work these non-English accounts of visits to Coranderrk are translated and published in full and some interesting discrepancies are found between Massola's (1975) translations and the ones published here.

1.4 Studies of Tourism at Coranderrk

Lydon's (2005) study of photography at Coranderrk has shown how the station became a 'showplace' of Aboriginal culture, and how it was visited by many local and international visitors many of whom have left a photographic record who were keen to participate in what they thought was 'the work of salvage, collecting information and taking photographs to serve as scientific data' (Lydon, 2005: xx).

Lydon's central argument is that 'while Aboriginal people were entangled in western cultures of imaging and scopic regimes that objectify, reify and distance, they absorbed and understood those practices, not as passive subjects, but as active, visually and politically astute agents in cross-cultural practices of imaging and image

consumption. These in turn were grounded in cultural concepts of the image, rooted in ideas of kin and land expressed through performance, song and art – far removed from western perspectivalism and the disciplinary gaze – and in the absorption and mimicry of colonial practices' (Edwards, 2007: 78). Her reading of the photographic archive of Coranderrk is that images reveal not only the colonial gaze but also 'an Indigenous insertion in the photographic exchange' (De Lorenzo, 2006: 292). When Aboriginal subjects avert their gaze, Lydon argues that they are adhering to traditional practices of avoiding direct eye contact which was often considered offensive. By avoiding eye contact, Lydon argues, the Aboriginal participant retained some authority within the making of the image. Thus gaze aversion was a form of cultural subversion (see Lydon, 2005: 8–9).

> The official photographic archive records the way in which visitors were shown a place marked by "discipline" and "souvenirs" of cultural difference. Where images of hybridity were concocted by the photographer in what Lydon calls "a theatre of the grotesque" – royal appellations for just about anybody in a last-ditch attempt to sound respectful to whoever had survived the degrading experience of colonialism; trousers were worn under possum skin cloaks; boomerang throwing amidst cricket games – opportunities abounded for what another historian has called "the hegemony of laughter". Against the overwhelming odds, Lydon finds some means of recognizing in these images a form of counter attack, whereby "performing traditional culture would become a source of status and income": some people demanded money for being photographed while others turned artifacts, made for demonstration and display, into saleable products (De Lorenzo, 2006: 295).

Lydon (2005: 22) has observed 'Coranderrk was unusual in its level of contact with European society: the station's proximity to white settlement saw a constant flow of visitors toward it ... the problem of maintaining the residents' seclusion became a constant theme'. Lydon (2005: 22f) further notes that once the Board had 'enforced its assimilation policy in the mid-1880s, the Board allowed the station to become a showplace, open to visitors, and as tourism out of Melbourne developed, Coranderrk became a must-see site on an itinerary that extended northeast into the Dandenongs'.

Coranderrk as a choice of study is a rich one – as acknowledged by Kratz (2008: 3043) 'Coranderrk figured in multiple arenas as the colony developed, including politics and policies relating to land and Aboriginal stations, colonial science, displays for international exhibitions, and colonial social life and entertainment as Coranderrk became a popular tourist destination'. The residents of Coranderrk, as argued by Kleinert (2006: 76), were adept at exploiting their proximity to Melbourne to assert their ownership of Coranderrk land. 'Staging Aboriginality through public performances – even within the constraints imposed by assimilation policies – fulfilled an important role. Bringing Indigenous performers and audience participants together created a context for the possible renegotiation of identities'.

1.5 Coranderrk Aboriginal Station – a Brief History

In late 1849 the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate was dismantled following the recommendations from the New South Wales Legislative Council Select Committee appointed in June 1849 to assess the success or failure of the Protectorate system. Although William Thomas, the assistant protector responsible for the Melbourne or Western Port Protectorate District, was retained and given the title of 'Guardian of Aborigines', he was primarily responsible for the counties of Bourke, Mornington, and Evelyn, and he concentrated his efforts on Aboriginal people living in or visiting the environs of Melbourne.

The abolition of the Protectorate heralded a decade of *laissez faire* policy and neglect of Aboriginal people in Victoria. For Aboriginal people in Victoria, the decade of the 1850s, can be characterised as one of continued depopulation due to venereal and respiratory diseases, sub-standard nutrition, and falling fertility rates. Traditional socio-political structures were collapsing, and depleted family units were camped either on European stations, where they were receiving seasonal employment, or they were camped on the fringes of small townships. Throughout this decade Aboriginal people received minimal government assistance. In 1858 a Select Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria was appointed to enquire into the present condition of the Aborigines and the best means of alleviating their absolute wants. The Select Committee recommended that reserves be formed for the various tribes on their traditional hunting ranges where they would be able to combine agriculture and the grazing of livestock.

In June 1860 the Victorian Government established a Central Board 'to watch over the interests of the Aborigines'. The board operated two systems of organization: a reserve system and a system of Local Guardians, who functioned as Honorary Correspondents to the Central Board, and who distributed items of foodstuffs and clothing and other items to the Aborigines in their neighbourhoods, at locations that were considered 'depots'. In its first annual report the Central Board (Victoria, 1861), announced a nine-point plan that it would attempt to introduce:

1. That it is the bounden duty of the people who have taken possession of their country to protect them as far as possible, and to a certain extent to maintain them. We occupy for pastoral and for other purposes nearly all the land in the colony, and that which we do not occupy is the least fitted for the black population. Under these circumstances it is necessary that permanent reserves should be made for the blacks whenever their numbers are such as to require a tract of country yielding food.
2. That they should be confined as closely as possible to those reserves; and, for their better management and control, that the Act relating to the Aborigines should be amended giving to Your Excellency full power to order as to their residence and maintenance; and to order, also, as to the disposal of orphan and deserted children.

3. That other than educated blacks in the employment of settlers should be prohibited from visiting towns and gold fields.
4. That rations and clothing should be distributed to them when necessary.
5. That medical aid should be afforded in certain cases.
6. That habits of industry should be inculcated and encouraged by forming Aboriginal settlements in the localities to which the blacks chiefly resort where some could be taught farming and the management of sheep and cattle; whilst others might be encouraged to support themselves by hunting and fishing, to build houses and to provide clothing.
7. That severe measures of repression should be urged against the sale of spirituous liquors to the blacks.
8. That missions should be encouraged, and the population of each reserve, where practicable, placed under the care of missionaries, subject to the inspection of the honorary correspondents and the inspectors appointed by the Board.
9. That a superintendent should be appointed whose duty would be to visit each station at least once in every year, examine into the condition of the blacks and report thereon, as well as report as to the distribution of stores by the honorary correspondents and the missionaries (Victoria, 1861: 11).

It was the Central Board's plan that after supplying the honorary correspondents and the superintendents of the various stations with food and clothing for the Aborigines, that Thomas, the Guardian of Aborigines, would visit each station and depot and make a careful report on the numbers and physical and moral condition of the several tribes across the state. Thomas's deteriorating health, however, made him unfit for the arduous duty of inspection, and they looked for a replacement. After much enquiry in August 1861 the Board appointed 31 year old Scotsman John Green, who had arrived in Melbourne in 1857, 'who appears to be fully qualified by experience and character to examine and report as to the condition of the blacks, and he is now engaged in visiting the several depots and stations throughout the Colony. By such means the Board will obtain an almost perfect census of the Aboriginal population, and careful returns will be made of the distribution of all stores supplied for their want. He will also report particularly as to the propriety of affording medical aid, and whether it is possible, regard being had to the habits of the blacks, to mitigate to any great extent, the frightful disorders which destroy yearly so great numbers of the Aboriginal population' (Victoria, 1861: 6). Green's title was 'General Inspector'. According to Green, he accepted the position on the condition that he was allowed to collect orphaned children on his tours and 'make a home for them' (Barwick, 1998: 65).[2]

2 Green was confirmed in the role in 1863.

A brief roll call of those who served as managers or superintendents at Corranderrk and its antecedent stations at Acheron and Mohican reveals a constant procession of change since 1859. The only major periods of stability were those of John Green (1862–1876); Joseph Shaw (1886–1908); and Charles Robarts (1909–1924). (Appendix 8.1 presents a detailed biographical history of each manager and their immediate families.)

The first superintendent appointed in the Upper Yarra district was 20 year old Irish-born Robert Onslow Bellerophon Hickson and his new wife Emily Villeneufve Watton who were hired by William Thomas as superintendent and teacher, respectively, at the Acheron Reserve, some 114 km from Melbourne, on the Acheron River, on 30 March 1859, at 10 shillings a day.[3] William Thomas's journal reveals that Thomas formally recommended Robert Hickson to have charge of the 'Nyageron' station (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 201). When Thomas advised the 'Goulburn Blacks' that Hickson would have charge of the station he noted 'they are pleased say he is a good man they know him a long time' (Stephens, 2014 v. 4: 203). Thomas later confirmed 'Hickson has been familiar with the Blacks now intending to locate for the last 5 or six years and used to agriculture from his youth, as also has Mrs Hickson, & for years had Blacks under her Charge teaching children to needlework, wash & read at Mt. Rouse Aboriginal Station being the daughter of the late Amiable Protector there Dr Wotton [sic]. These are strongly recommended by W.L. Ker Esq. J.P, [...] Aitkin Esqr. JP, Snodgrass JP, all of the Upper Plenty,[4] the blacks too are anxious that Mr R. Hickson should instruct them' (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 212).

The Acheron Aboriginal station was south of the junction of the Acheron and Little rivers and formed part of the Niagaroon (Whranregarwen) and Taggerty pastoral runs.

Basket making was evidently one activity under the superintendence of Robert and Emily Hickson as Thomas noted in December 1859 that the Governor 'was pleased with Lubras baskets, & talkd of coming to see them, Beg him to state all to Blk Lubras' (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 242). Barwick (1998: 41) confirms that by August 1859 the women were producing and selling baskets to purchase food and tools.

In June 1860 the newly-created Central Board appointed to watch over the interests of the aborigines held their first meeting. One of the most pressing matters they had to deal with concerned the management of the Mohican station on the Acheron River:

3 They were still receiving this level of payment in February 1860 (see *The Argus*, 22/2/1860).

4 According to Billis's and Kenyon's (1974) register of pastoral pioneers and stations, W.L. Ker was at 'Mount Pleasant', 25,600 acres adjoining Alexandra and 'Killingworth' or 'Cheviot Hills', 50,000 acres adjoining Yea; J.C. Aitken was at 'Acheron', 24,000 acres on the Acheron River; and Peter Snodgrass was at 'Doogallook', 26,800 acres near Yea.

> The Acheron Station appeared to be under the charge of trustees,[5] who were also honorary correspondents of the board, and to these gentlemen the care of it was committed. On their recommendation the old station was abandoned, and at the first meeting of the board they were placed in possession of the papers relating to the purchase of Jones Station, in the vicinity. Having no personal knowledge of the localities, und under the impression that the removal would be beneficial to the blacks, the board, on consideration of the evidence submitted to them, advised the Government to purchase Jones's Station (an arrangement all but completed when first brought under their notice), and Mr Hickson, the superintendent, took possession of it accordingly. The board regret to have to state that the change has not proved beneficial. Whether due to improper management or to the unsuitableness of the site, or both combined, it is certain that the blacks have almost ceased to frequent the new reserve. They are said to complain of the coldness of the climate, and some old settlers inform the board that no worse situation for an aboriginal establishment could be chosen. The old station was selected by the Goulburn Aborigines, and they seemed to like it extremely, and as many as ninety blacks were congregated there at first. Now, at the new station, there are seldom more than twenty five or thirty, and these are dissatisfied and careless of its success. This extraordinary change called for inquiry, the more especially as one of the trustees, Mr Snodgrass, M.L.A., had expressed himself as dissatisfied with the management of the station generally. Mr Hickson, the superintendent, was accordingly directed to appear before the board, and from his statements, and those of the gentleman in the neighbourhood, they have come to the conclusion that the new station must be abandoned. It must be remembered that it was selected in the first instance by those who ought to have been well aware of its suitableness, otherwise, for aboriginal purposes, and the board only consented to ratify the engagement for the purchase on their representations … (*The Argus*, 15/10/1861).

In August/September 1860 the station moved from Acheron because of settler opposition to a new site 'Mohican Station' some four miles lower down the river.[6] This land was in poor condition and the relocation was not popular with the Aboriginal residents.

In March 1861, the Board rejected trustee Snodgrass's demand that Hickson be dismissed because his 'character was an annoyance'. Once his demand had been rejected, Snodgrass himself resigned and Hickson thereafter reported directly to the Board's secretary. In April 1861 the Victorian Legislative Assembly approved a budget of £200 for the teacher and matron at the Acheron Station (*The Age*, 26/4/1861).

On 1 May 1861, the Legislative Assembly approved a miscellaneous request to provide compensation to Stephen Jones for loss of sheep and damage to the Mohican Station, on the Acheron River, by aborigines, of £1000 (*The Age*, 2/5/1861).

In terms of additional estimates for the year 1861, the Legislative Assembly on 17 May 1861, approved the following matters:

5 The trustees were Peter Snodgrass, John Maxwell, John C. Aitken, and Donald Mackenzie.

6 In an interesting twist, the Niagaroon pastoral station's association with the Hickson/Watton family returned in the latter part of the nineteenth century when John Mayne Conolly (1824–1891), who married Emily Watton's sister Mary Sophia Watton (1829?-1920) in 1857, became a licensee of Niagaroon station (*The Argus*, 7/7/1920).

Figure 1.2: Mr John Green, *The Australian News for Home Readers*, 25/8/1865; State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection, Accession No. IAN25/08/65/13.

> compensation to the successful tenderer for the erection of a hut on the proposed aboriginal reserve on the Acheron River, the order for the erection of the building having been rescinded in consequence of the purchase (subsequent to the acceptance of the tender) of some buildings for the use of the aborigines on the Mohican station, £25 (*The Age*, 18/5/1861).

In October 1861, John Green (see Figure 1.2) reported on the state of the Mohican station. He noted that he had spent a week at the station and considered it was in 'a very unsatisfactory condition', with only 16 people presently on the station; the scholars, though clean, were poorly taught, and the Hicksons were neither popular nor suitable: 'they do not like Mr & Mrs Hickson, they say that they are no good for black fellow and black lubra, Hickson too proud'. Although 'very faithful', Green considered the Hicksons 'have not a tack for the blacks', and 'it would be wisdom' to replace them (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 360). He noted that the five women on the station made dresses and baskets which he proposed could be sold.

Evidently there is more to the demise of the Hicksons for in March 1862 Thomas received a visit from a 'Gentleman from Upper Goulbourne come to my house, and gave an Acct of … how contemptuously the Blks used Mr Hickson after Mr Greens arrival' (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 375). The situation had obviously deteriorated from April

1860 when the Bratauallung Aboriginal man Boon-bul-wa aka Tarra Bobby – who belonged to the Warrigal Creek and Tarra River in Gippsland – first saw the Acheron Reserve (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 265). There he found Aboriginal people working the land 'like white man' under the guidance of Robert Hickson. Attwood (1987: 47) observes he was most excited by what he saw and on his return to Melbourne gave William Thomas 'a glowing account of blacks working hard, making paddocks &c. &c.' telling him 'blackfellows Gippsland by and by like that'.

John Green first appears in William Thomas's journal on 31 October 1860 when Thomas records 'Mr Green Missiony brings 2 Blks Tommy Gippsland & Munnering Yarra to Melbn Hospital', and the second entry on the following day, Thomas refers to him as Rev'd Mr Green calls on me, & gives me some Acct of Blks & Children at the Upper Yarra' (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 286).

From late 1861 Green took over the running of the station and in early January 1862 the Board asked Hickson to resign and offered three months' notice, however, Robert and Emily Hickson refused their offer and formally resigned in January 1862, 'angry at being told he was unsuitable and at the "impertinence" of the Taunguruong who would not obey him once Green told them he no longer had authority' (Barwick, 1998: 61).

Green took over, formally, in February 1862. In March 1862 the station moved a little distance to the north, but still remained within the boundaries of the Mohican pastoral run (Sinnott, 2003). At the same time Green permanently relocated his family to the new site. This site was abandoned because it was deemed too cold, and in 1863 the Coranderrk station was established on Coranderrk (Badger) Creek, south of Healesville. Coranderrk is the Woiwurrung word for the Victorian Christmas Bush, a species of Mint Bush (Prostanthera lasianthos). According to Massola (1975: 14), the Daungwurrung name for this plant was Geringdah. The dry straight stems of the bush were used as firedrills, spun between the hands on a base of grass-tree stem to create fire by friction (Gott, 2010).

The reserve of 4000 acres at Coranderrk was gazetted in June 1863. Ethel Shaw, the daughter of Joseph Shaw, station manager from 1886 until 1908, has reflected on the suitability of the site:

> The site chosen for the home of the Aborigines was ideal; it was on high ground which sloped gently down to the Badger Creek, a lovely, quick-flowing stream, purling merrily along on its way to join the Yarra River, about a mile distant. Its banks were lined with wattles, ferns, and shrubs, festooned with starry white clematis and purple sarsaparilla. The Christmas shrub (Prostanthera Lasianthos) grew luxuriantly everywhere, the beautiful sprays of delicate mauve and creamy bell-shaped flowers delighted the eye. The Yarra tribe knew it by the name of Coranderrk, and so the Mission was named after it. The reserve contained 4000 acres of well-timbered, undulating country, ranging from Mt. Riddell and Mt. Donnabewong to the River Yarra, with its rich, fertile flats. There was an abundance of wild game on the reserve – kangaroos, wallabies, koalas, possums, wombats, bandicoots, and small kangaroo rats; all were delectable articles of diet to the Aborigine. Soon land was cleared for cultivation, and bark cottages erected for those who would live in them; many, however, preferred their mia-mias (Shaw, 1949: 13).

In 1869 the Victorian Parliament passed the *Act to provide for the Protection and Maintenance of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria* which gave the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines legal power over the lives and finances of Victoria's Aboriginal people. The 1869 Act defined an Aboriginal person to be 'Every Aboriginal native of Australia and every Aboriginal half-caste or child habitually associating and living with Aboriginals'. In the 1870s the Board would begin to develop a strategy to rid the Victorian government of the financial burden of supporting the Aboriginal people of Victoria. The plan involved removing people of mixed descent from the six Aboriginal stations and reserves in Victoria and obliging them to 'merge' with the general population. Those of full descent would be allowed to remain on stations and reserves which would be gradually merged until their eventual demise. Thus interracial relationships or genetic absorption would ultimately lead to the demise of the entire Aboriginal population and see the complete cessation of any financial burden on the state (Ellinghouse, 2001). This worldview was ultimately responsible for the 1886 Act (see below).

In 1874 Green and the Board fell out when R. Brough Smyth, the secretary of the Board attempted to sell part of the Coranderrk reserve. Smyth wished to relocate the Coranderrk residents to the Murray River. John Green resigned as manager of Coranderrk in September 1874, though he retained his role of general inspector until October 1875.

In 1875 the Board for the Protection of Aborigines underwent a major shakeup: three new members – all close friends and each with long pastoral histories in Victoria – joined the Board – Chief Inspector of Stock Edward Micklethwaite Curr, parliamentarian Frederick Race Godfrey, and the director of the Zoological Gardens Albert Le Soüef. All three were sympathetic to the views of R. Brough Smyth, who had been instrumental in the campaign against former Coranderrk manager, John Green. 'All three had strong personal connections dating back to their time as pastoralists in the 1840s' (Furphy, 2013a: 130). Barwick (1998: 77) has characterised them as three old pastoralists who knew nothing of Kulin history or social organisation – but prided themselves on their knowledge of 'the blacks'. However, Barwick's view is somewhat extreme and does not withstand scrutiny – certainly Curr's primary experience was with the Yorta Yorta to the north of the eastern Kulin peoples, but he had had considerable experience with the Ngurai-illum wurrung people, the northern-most people of the eastern Kulin confederation. Godfrey had occupied land that bordered two western Kulin languages – Barababaraba and Djadjawurrung – indeed some of the Djadjawurrung were settled at Coranderrk. Finally, Le Soüef had been associated with the Daungwurrung and Ngurai-illam wurrung since his father became assistant protector of the Goulburn District of the Aboriginal Protectorate in 1841 and after his father's dismissal in 1843 he had pursued pastoral interests in the Goulburn district.

On 4 August 1875, Curr, Godfrey, and Le Soüef formed a subcommittee to examine the future management of Coranderrk and visited the station on 8 August. On

25 August 1875, the Aboriginal Board resolved to employ for two months an experienced pastoral station manager to inspect all six stations under the Board's control in company with Board member E.M. Curr. They chose Christian Splidt Ogilvie a 55-year old Englishman who had been in Victoria since 1839. Barwick (1998: 113) is correct in her assessment that Ogilvie was 'one of their own kind' – he was a close personal friend of both Curr and Le Soüef. Ogilvie had been a stock inspector in Victoria and had once been in business with Le Soüef. The day after his appointment Ogilvie was sent to inspect Coranderrk. He later recalled that his subsequent report prepared on 20 September 1875 led to superintendent Stähle's dismissal (see below). According to Furphy (2013b: 77) Curr was the key advocate of the plan to close Coranderrk and move its politically active residents to a remote location on the Murray River. Curr believed in Aboriginal infantilism – that they should be under strict control and coerced 'just as we coerce children and lunatics who cannot take care of themselves' (Furphy, 2013b: 77).

Ogilvie reported to the Board that Coranderrk was not a suitable location for an Aboriginal station for two primary reasons: it is too cold and wet for the Aboriginal people to remain in all year round; and it is too near a white population for the Aborigines to be kept clear of the vices – drunkenness and prostitution – incidental to the two races being in such contiguity. He stated that 'although I have no direct evidence of either one or the other taking place to any great extent, it would require a great deal of negative evidence to prove to me that they are not prevalent'. He recommended removing the station to a new location were the white population was less numerous – and he suggested that somewhere on the banks of the Murray River would probably meet both requirements – climate and remoteness. However, Ogilvie considered it was necessary to inform the Board 'that by far the larger proportion of the Aborigines at Coranderrk would prefer remaining there, partly because it is their country, or near it; but probably, also, in a limited degree, for the same reason that the worst part of a white population prefer loafing about towns to going into the country in search of work'.

Ogilvie made some practical suggestions such as 'instead of giving the people their rations once a week, uncooked, it would be better to have a general kitchen, in charge of a white cook, where all their food should be cooked, and from whence it should be issued to them at each meal-time'. The advantages of a central kitchen, he argued, would be food better cooked, less waste, and the people would have the opportunity of keeping their huts in a more cleanly state. If this suggestion was not approved, he recommended the meat ration be issued more often.

Ogilvie offered the Board some remarks about the general management of the Aborigines – he believed they should be divided into classes:

> 1st Class – All full-blooded Aborigines, partially or wholly ignorant of the laws of civilization, and all the infirm and aged; all of whom should be managed in a purely paternal manner.

> 2nd Class – All others above a certain age, on being admitted to the station, should be required to sign an agreement with the superintendent to obey all his lawful orders, &c., and that on any breach of this agreement the superintendent should be authorized to administer such mild punishment as might be thought adequate to the offence (stopping tobacco, &c.); but that any flagrant breach of discipline they should be summoned before a bench, and treated exactly as a white man would be under similar circumstances, ...
>
> 3rd Class – Which may be called the Educational Class, would of course be composed of the youths of both sexes. I think this class should be so educated that as they arrive at a sufficient age they could be sent into the world to compete for employment with the white population, the station never being closed against them in periods of distress or sickness.
>
> Under some such system as I have sketched, I do not think it would be too much to anticipate, and that at no very remote period that the necessity for a Board might cease; but I do fear that unless the grown-up half-castes are made to feel their personal responsibility to a greater extent than I think they do at present, and unless the young are taught that they will have to battle for their living the same as white people, some future Board for the Protection of Aborigines will have to deal with a vagabond race only distinguishable from the whites in that they will be lower sunk in depravity than the basest of those whites (Victoria, 1876: 6).

Frederick Godfrey, Vice-Chairman of the Board, commented on the suggestion by Ogilvie that the Coranderrk residents be removed to a more genial climate, 'unfortunately, the greater number of the people have a very decided and natural objection to leaving the present station, the Board is of opinion that the wiser course would be to replace about twenty of the worst huts by others more suitable to the climate, and also to form a station at the locality indicated in the report last mentioned, which would not only be useful as a sanitarium for any Coranderrk invalids, but would form the nucleus of a station for the natives of that part of the colony, and which the Church of England Mission has proposed to undertake, with the usual assistance afforded by the Board' (Victoria, 1876: 3).

After the relative stability of Green's leadership, Coranderrk underwent a period of regular leadership change. Ethel Shaw, the daughter of Joseph Shaw who managed the station from 1886 until 1908, explained it as follows:

> Troublous times followed during the next few years as five inexperienced and unsuitable men, one after the after, endeavoured to carry out their duties. Not understanding the Aborigines or how to deal with them, they failed to win their confidence and respect. The stronger elements amongst the Aborigines defied authority, refused to work, and were very impudent. One of the managers foolishly threatened the unruly with a gun. A strong young Aborigine knocked him down and took away his gun. Matters became so bad that a Commission was appointed to inquire into conditions. It was realised that the Superintendent must be a Christian, with an understanding, if possible, of the Aborigines (Shaw, 1949:14f).

Johann Henrich Stähle (b. 1840, Germany) who had been appointed teacher in April 1874, served as superintendent for twelve months until he was dismissed on 7 September 1875 for refusing to acknowledge Ogilvie as the Board's Inspector in the place of

John Green and for what they considered 'improper' correspondence to the Board and his attempt to appeal directly to the Minister.[7] He was later dismissed and hired by the Anglican Mission Committee to take charge of Lake Condah in October 1875.

On 7 September 1875 Ogilvie was appointed temporary manager of Coranderrk with complete control of the management of the station – his orders from the Board were to enforce 'strict obedience' from the rebellious Coranderrk inmates. On 14 December he was appointed general superintendent of all six stations in Victoria. On 21 September 1875 Ogilvie and Curr were sent 'to search for a new remote location for Coranderrk on the Murray River' (Furphy, 2013: 132).

Miss Nina Robertson, the school mistress and dormitory matron who had been appointed in January 1874, and Thomas Harris, the 45 year old English-born overseer who had been associated with John Green since 1862, were left in charge during Ogilvie's six week absence due to his tour of inspection of the stations across Victoria with Board member E.M. Curr (Barwick, 1998: 99, 116). Massola (1975: 25) however asserts that Robertson was left in charge for five months (he does not mention Harris) and served in this capacity from Stähle's dismissal until her departure from Coranderrk when Ogilvie was appointed, but this chronology is not supported by any other source. In her evidence before the 1877 Royal Commission Robertson asserted that 'For five months I was there alone' (Victoria, 1877: 79) but this may be a reference to her duties as matron and not overall management of the station.

Ogilvie served in a temporary capacity until 42 year old Irish-born sergeant of police Hugh Hamilton Halliday was appointed on 28 March 1876. Ogilvie resigned in mid-1877 to pursue pastoral interests and was succeeded by Captain Page who became Inspector and Secretary. In April 1877 Ogilvie was the first witness examined at the Royal Commission into Coranderrk. He confirmed that he had been engaged in pastoral pursuits in Victoria for some thirty-five years and during this time he had observed the habits and customs of Aboriginal people 'in their natural state'. Ogilvie was asked his opinion of the management of the stations and any improvements he might offer. He replied wishing to draw a distinction between Aborigines on stations and those in the bush – the former have advanced in civilization, and have lost, in a great measure, their original savage modes of life. He thought the centralization of Aboriginal people onto stations was a very good thing because it has had the effect of advancing them in civilization and has enabled the Board to educate the children. Despite these advancements, Ogilvie advised the commissioners 'that just the contrary system should now be introduced. I think the tendency of bringing them on to the stations has been to treat them too much like children, and to destroy any feeling of self-dependence that they ought to have, and I think that they should now be encouraged to labor for themselves, because I imagine the great principle is to

7 According to Barwick (1998: 107), Green recommended Stahle's appointment because he was 'a very good man; the blacks liked him very well'.

eventually absorb them into the general population of the colony. I think of course that, now we have advanced so far, the sooner that system is commenced the better' (Victoria, 1877: 1)

Halliday resigned in 1878. His replacement was a 59 year old English Church of England clergyman, the Reverend Frederick Philip Strickland who had immigrated to South Australia with his young family in 1855 to take up a new ministry in the Kapunda district. After a five year ministry at Kapunda and Riverton he moved to Geelong in 1861 to become pastor of the Trinity Free Church. He served the Geelong community until 1875. In 1877 he took charge temporarily of a Baptist congregation in Hobart, and in September 1877 returned to Geelong to begin an appointment as Truant Inspector but had to resign owing to a recent ankle injury that restricted his mobility. In June 1882 Strickland was replaced by 36 year old Tasmanian-born William Goodall, a former manager of Framlingham station on the Hopkins River, near Warrnambool. Ethel Shaw writes of Goodall's appointment: 'A Superintendent of a small Aboriginal mission elsewhere took charge for a few years. Admitting that he was unable to cope with the situation or to reduce expenses, which were mounting alarmingly, he resigned, and returned to his former station' (Shaw, 1949: 15). In January 1886 Goodall returned to Framlingham, and 46 year old Yorkshire-born Joseph Shaw (see Figure 1.3), who had been appointed the school teacher at Coranderrk in September 1882, was appointed manager of Coranderrk. Shaw was very experienced – he had served as a missionary for the Church Missionary Society at Yelta on the Murray River near Wentworth (1862–66); at Poonindie Mission Station in South Australia; and had spent some time at Lake Condah mission station in the early 1870s.

In December 1886, the Victorian Parliament passed the *Aborigines Protection Law Amendment Act*, which redefined the legal understanding of Aboriginality to be 'full-bloods, half-castes over thirty-five, female half-castes married to Aborigines, the infants of Aborigines' and 'any half-caste who was licensed by the Board to reside on the station'. The purpose of the Act was the removal of Aborigines of mixed descent under the age of 35, who were now legally seen as 'Europeans' and 'non-Aborigines', a move that was designed to reduce expenditure and assimilate them into 'White society'. Aborigines, whose legal identity had changed, were given three years to leave the state's various mission stations and reserves. Ellinghaus's (2001) assessment is that the policy was based on the logic that people of mixed descent were able to look after themselves in mainstream society better than those of full descent because they now had 'white blood'. In implementing the Act the Board actively encouraged genetic assimilation (the eventual 'breeding out' of the Aboriginal population through interracial relationships) and geographic assimilation (forcing Aboriginal people to live among the wider non-Aboriginal community) (Ellinghaus, 2001: 24).

Pursuing what Barwick (1998: 300) refers to as a dispersal policy, the 1886 Act had the following outcomes for Coranderrk:

Figure 1.3: Mr and Mrs Joseph Shaw, Coranderrk 1902, State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection Accession No. H17940.

> All 'half-castes' born after 1852 (i.e. 13 years and over) were ordered to find work and homes for themselves off the stations and the children of those 'over-age' 'half castes' still eligible to live on the stations were sent out as domestic servants and farm labourers from the age of 13. The sick and needy could be licensed to receive temporary refuge at the stations; but the government's new insistence on retrenchment, as the economic recession developed into the severe depression of the 1890s, limited aid to only the most desperate cases.

A majority of the 50 'half castes' at Coranderrk who were exiled by the passage of the 1886 Act, eventually took refuge in New South Wales at or near Maloga mission near Moama, and the newly-formed Cummeragunja station near Barmah.

In 1889 the Healesville Shire Council lobbied the Board for the Protection of Aborigines to alienate land from the Coranderrk station to allow for a model dairy farm and to cut an access road through the reserve. Despite the Coranderrk residents petitioning against the interests of the Healesville Shire, in 1891 the Board approved the road (which had been constructed illegally in the interim), and gave the shire a lease of the land required for an agricultural college. The road effectively cut the

station into two halves, and in 1893 the Board relinquished the eastern half nearest Healesville for village settlement. Once again the Aboriginal residents at Coranderrk protested the reduction of their station. By 1893, some 50 former residents were reported by Shaw to be 'earning, or at least obtaining, a living elsewhere'.

In 1903, Shaw was given six month's leave of absence; in his absence his 29 year old daughter Ethel Shaw served as matron, and 70 year old Scottish born John Mackie, the former school teacher, came out of retirement to serve as Acting Manager. Shaw retired in June 1908, and pending a permanent appointment, the station was put in the hands of John Mackie and 30 year old Frank T. Bulmer, the son of John Bulmer, the manager of Lake Tyers station. They remained in that role until January 1909 when 42 year old Avoca-born Charles Robarts (see Figure 1.4) was appointed superintendent and Natalie Robarts, matron (see Figure 1.5). The Robarts remained in charge until the closure of Coranderrk in 1924.

In 1909, newly-appointed Robarts confirmed that he maintained the Board's rule that the 'outside half-castes are restricted to one day a week to visit their relatives and friends'. These included descendants of pioneer Coranderrk families – Davis, Franklin, Harris, Hunter, Manton, Patterson, Rowan, Russell, Terrick, and Wandin – who camped in huts and tents to be near their 'old people' at Coranderrk.

In 1910, the 1886 Act was amended so that previously excluded Aborigines of mixed descent could receive aid through Aboriginal stations and missions. In 1912 some 66 Aboriginal residents were living at Coranderrk. In 1914 and 1915 Healesville residents petitioned the government to resume the reserve for a permanent military camp. The Healesville Shire Council organized a public protest meeting asserting that 'the congregation of a degenerate race a few miles from the township will ruin Healesville as a tourist resort' (Barwick, 1998: 306–7). This was a ridiculous claim given that Coranderrk was a staple for the tourism industry and as is shown throughout Natalie Robarts's diary, many international visitors to Melbourne included a trip to Coranderrk as a mandatory part of their visit. Barwick (1998: 307) asserts that in the post war years some 2,000 visitors went to Coranderrk per annum.

Given the economic pressures stemming from the 1890s depression, and pressure exerted from land-hungry neighbours, the Board was pressed to reduce costs by amalgamating stations and/or reducing the size of station land. Framlingham closed in 1890; Ebenezer in 1904, Ramahyuck in 1909, and Lake Condah in 1918, and many of their residents were forcibly resettled at Coranderrk.

In 1917 the Board decided to 'concentrate' all eligible Aboriginal people at Lake Tyers. Any eligible Aboriginal station residents who refused to leave their homes would be deemed to have foregone any future assistance. In 1918 when the Board planned to close Coranderrk and concentrate Aboriginal people at Lake Tyers, some 33 residents were willing to resettle, and 24 refused. Coranderrk was eventually 'closed' in February 1924 when the manager Charles Robarts was removed. The Board resolved that Annie and Lanky Manton, Mrs Dunolly, Alfred Davis and his wife, and William Russell were allowed the use of 50 acres [20 hectares].

Figure 1.4: Charles Alfred Robarts (Source: the Natalie Robarts papers).

Figure 1.5: Natalie Anna Robarts, 1901 (Source: the Natalie Robarts papers). Presumably the baby she is holding is her first-born son, Oswald Charles Robarts.

1.6 About This Book

Chapter two is concerned to provide a chronological overview of tourism at Coranderrk from 1863 until its closure in 1924. Chapter three considers contributions from six researchers – E.H. Giglioli, H.N. Moseley, C.J.D. Charnay, Rev. J. Mathew, L.W.G. Büchner, and Professor F.R. von Luschan. It translates and publishes Giglioli's and Charnay's accounts of their visits to Coranderrk. Chapter four considers 14 international dignitaries, including royal visitors and members of the political elite – visitors as diverse as media baron Lord Northcliffe and acclaimed English historian James Froude. Chapter five is concerned to analyse seventeen published accounts from journalists and correspondents who visited Coranderrk. They reveal the development of the station and show the evolution of Coranderrk as a tourist attraction and the response of the Aboriginal residents to this growing interest. A particular study is made of the articles of John Stanley James aka The Vagabond. Chapter six is concerned with the tourism that emerged around the eminent *ngurungaeta* (clan head) William Barak – it translates and publishes Comettant's and Baessler's accounts of their meetings with Barak. Chapter seven analyses commercial photography and postcards of Coranderrk that were generated during its operation, along with examples of private photographs taken by tourists. Chapter eight briefly explores tourism at Coranderrk after its closure in 1924. Finally, chapter eight's appendix presents biographical histories of each superintendent and acting manager; and reveals what I have been able to learn about their backgrounds and their lives before and after Coranderrk, and their immediate families. One of the purposes of these portraits is to correct some of the ignorance and misinformation surrounding some of these men and women.

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2 Tourism at Coranderrk

Tourism at Coranderrk Aboriginal station has been researched by Lydon (2005), however her concern with tourism is primarily to provide context for her reading of the photography that visitation produced. Lydon's (2005) study of Coranderrk has shown how this station became a 'showplace' of Aboriginal culture, and how it was visited by many local and international visitors many of whom have left a photographic record, such as Charles Walter, Enrico Giglioli, Frederick Kruger, Claude-Joseph Désiré Charnay, Nicolas Caire, and Ernest Fysh, who were keen to participate in what they thought was 'the work of salvage, collecting information and taking photographs to serve as scientific data' (Lydon, 2005: xx). People were also motivated by an interest in Aboriginal people they regarded as both a 'dying race' and a 'fossil race'. Indeed, in the early 1900s tourist guides often promoted a visit to Aboriginal stations and the purchase of postcards of the stations and their residents as important souvenirs of a soon-to-be extinct race of people (Lydon, 2005: 189).

Lydon (2005: 22) has observed 'Coranderrk was unusual in its level of contact with European society: the station's proximity to white settlement saw a constant flow of visitors toward it ... the problem of maintaining the residents' seclusion became a constant theme'. Coranderrk became akin to a zoo or laboratory. Lydon (2005: 22f) further notes that once the Board had 'enforced its assimilation policy in the mid-1880s, the Board allowed the station to become a showplace, open to visitors, and as tourism out of Melbourne developed, Coranderrk became a must-see site on an itinerary that extended northeast into the Dandenongs'.

Under John Green's leadership, the Coranderrk residents had been allowed to develop their own internal organization – decision making was consensual via a council of elders; the siting of resident houses was permitted in accordance with traditional social organizational practices; punishments were meted out by a residents' court; and movement on and off the station was regulated by the elders. As Green explained, 'My method of managing the blacks is to allow them to rule themselves as much as possible' (Lydon, 2005: 15). The older residents were permitted to continue to live in traditional dwellings (or willams or mia-mias) (see Figure 2.1), and to bury their excrement as they always had so that it could not be accessed by their enemies and used for traditional harming practices. When worshipping the traditional segregation of men and women was maintained. In this context then it was only logical that Aboriginal people would also expect to control external processes that sought to incorporate them such as tourism and photography. Tourism gave residents an opportunity to sell souvenirs and to participate in sporting and cultural events in Healesville and in Melbourne, and it also allowed them 'to develop a sophisticated awareness of white discourse' (Lydon, 2005: 23).

Kleinert (2006: 84) has argued that the tourism that developed at Coranderrk and Lake Tyers 'was a response to a growing fascination on the part of an urbanised populace for a unique experience of an exotic "primitive ", conflated with the pictur-

esque natural beauty' that these two localities offered. Seeing tourism as an important form of cross-cultural exchange, she notes that in the late 1800s and early 1900s 'many hundreds of tourists visited Coranderrk and Lake Tyers particularly during the summer months'. At Coranderrk, as the analysis that follows will detail, tourists were able to see boomerang throwing, fire lighting, spear throwing, tree climbing, basket making, hear stories from leading men such as Barak, and take their own photographs or buy locally produced photographs and postcards. As mementos of their visit they were able to purchase their own baskets, rugs, boomerangs, spears, fire-lighters, and paintings. John James, a.k.a. The Vagabond (*The Argus*, 23/5/1885) was dismissive of the tourism at Coranderrk where Metropolitan cockneys and globe trotters from Manchester and Birmingham could get their first impression of the 'Australian black fellow' and purchase badly-made curios to take home, mementos of their experiences with the '"Savage" of Australia in his native lair'.

2.1 Tarra Bobby, the Brataualung, and Acheron Station, April 1860

One of the earliest visitor accounts is that of a Brataualung Aboriginal man named Boon-bul-wa, aka Tarra Bobby, who belonged to the Warrigal Creek and Tarra River district in Gippsland, who visited the Acheron Reserve in April 1860 (Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 265). There he found Aboriginal people working the land 'like white man' under the guidance of Robert Hickson. Attwood (1987: 47) observes he was most excited by what he saw and on his return to Melbourne gave William Thomas 'a glowing account of blacks working hard, making paddocks &c. &c.' telling him 'blackfellows Gippsland by and by like that'. Attwood (1987) has made a special study of Tarra Bobby and confirms that he belonged to the Yauung group (or band) of Brataualung that was centred on Warrigal Creek and the Tarra River. Attwood (1987: 47) suggests that '[m]uch of Bobby's optimism was due to the fact that the Taungurong had bestowed a young woman, Annie, upon him in accordance with the practice of exchanging women between distant clans'. After his marriage he returned to Gippsland to inform his people about Acheron and in June some 100 Kurnai came to visit Acheron. By winter of 1863 Tarra Bobby, his wife Annie, and another Brataualung man, Bobby Coleman, went to Coranderrk. On 27 May 1863 a deputation from Coranderrk attended Victorian Governor Sir Henry Barkly's public levee or reception in Melbourne to honour the recent marriage of the Prince of Wales and the Queen's birthday. At the levee they presented gifts to Prince Albert to equip him in his new role as a married man and birthday gifts of rugs and baskets were presented to the Governor to be passed on to the Queen (see Clark, 2014a). *The Argus* (27/5/1863) confirmed that the Aboriginal delegation represented the 'Waworrung, Boonorong, and Tara-Waragal tribes'. Presumably, the representative of the Tara-Waragal here referred to is either Boon-bul-wa (Tarra Bobby) or Bobby Coleman.

2.2 Rev. Robert Hamilton's Impressions of Coranderrk, August 1864

One of the first to visit Coranderrk was the Presbyterian Rev. Robert Hamilton (*The Age*, 6/8/1864). This visit was the beginning of a long association with the Coranderrk residents.

> Sir, – As many of your readers are doubtless interested in any scheme that is likely to improve the condition of the aborigines of this country, I beg to communicate some information respecting a settlement of the blacks on the Upper Yarra. This aboriginal station has a Government reserve of 2300 acres about 40 miles from Melbourne, and is situated on what is called "The Yarra Flats." The place receives the name of Coranderrk. It is well supplied with water, having the Yarra and Badger's Creek on the one side, and Watt's River on the other. Three sides of the settlement have a water frontage all the year round — the creek mentioned, and the smaller river having a constant flow of beautiful water summer as well as winter, and the remaining side has a natural fortification of mountainous ranges. The reserve once formed part of Mr W. Nicholson's station and was secured for the blacks at the time that gentleman was in office in the Government. The spot is exceedingly well suited to the purpose for which it has been selected. It is secluded, and thereby fitted to preserve the natives from free and injurious intercourse with the whites.

Hamilton reported that the reserve was rich in native game: 'The greater part of the station is covered with bush, and contains, of course, abundance of firewood, and, what is of great importance, a considerable amount of game. The kangaroos, and opossums, the wombat and native bear, the wild duck, parrot tribe, magpie, swan, &c. are all found here, and often yield to the fatal shot of the natives' (*The Age*, 6/8/1864). In terms of the residents, Hamilton explained that there were 67 Aboriginal people on the settlement at the time of his visit, representing various tribes: the 'Yarra and Goulburn embrace a large proportion. One is from the Murray; a few are from Gipps Land and Seymour. A number have come from Franklinford... Besides those, there is a large number of blacks who regard these as their friends, either by family and tribe connection, or by interest and other considerations, and are likely, sooner or later, to come and settle with them. The number of the whole would, in that case, be about 140'. 'They are all dressed in European clothing, not received in charity, but acquired by the earnings of their own industry'. He considered that one of the obstacles they had to overcome was the requirement that they learn English 'with which they must be very imperfectly acquainted. The progress which heathens in other lands make under missionary teaching is doubtless very much facilitated by the teachers first learning the language of the people, and then imparting knowledge to them on all subjects in their mother tongue. Were it not for this hindrance, I have no hesitation in saying that, other circumstances being alike, the natives of this country would make as much progress in a given time as the savages of other climes do under missionary labor'

Hamilton found it interesting that the Coranderrk residents were 'of a disposition to form an independent judgment on matters. They wish to have minds of their own; and, while they respect and love Mr Green in a high degree — even as a father, a friend, or a chief — yet they are not disposed by any means to be always bound by

his opinions and views. And sometimes a little reasoning is necessary to bring them to right plans'. The residents displayed this independence many times over the next sixty years and would be a constant irritation to some members of the Board who had their own idea on what was in the best interests of the residents.

Attending worship, Hamilton noticed that certain decorum and rituals were observed in the seating arrangements and when leaving the chapel:

> At the close of all the speechifying, which was to all appearance greatly enjoyed, worship was conducted as usual, and a short exposition of Scripture given. Immediately after the religious service, the women, who sit all on the left side of the room after entering, while the mon all sit on the right, are the first to rise, and one by one to shake hands with all the children and white people, but not with the male adults, and then retire to their huts. Next the men rise, and one by one also shake hands in a similar manner and then retire. The separate classification of males and females, and the great hand-shaking morning and evening, by invariable custom, originated entirely with themselves. Shaking hands, as a mark of goodwill, is quite an institution among them, and if you meet them several times a day, it is only what is expected, that you as often observe the ceremony (*The Age*, 6/8/1864).

Although Hamilton was silent on the manufacture of rugs, the Central Board (Victoria, 1864: 5) in its annual report announced that 'They have made a great number of rugs, which have been sold for about £70'.

2.3 Making progress at Coranderrk 1865

The Age newspaper kept its readers informed of the progress of Coranderrk, and when it was not sending its own reporters to the station; it would summarize annual reports published by the Central Board, such as the following for 1865:

> On the 22nd June, 1865, two members of the Central Board – Mr. John Mackenzie and Mr. Brough Smyth – visited this station. They arrived, they believe, unexpectedly, and found the station in its ordinary condition. They inspected the huts and houses at nine a.m., and found them clean, neatly swept, and very comfortable. Many of the interiors were tolerably well furnished, the seats and tables being made of rough bush timber, and the walls decorated with pictures cut out of the *Illustrated London News* and the illustrated papers published in Melbourne. There were also several photographs, which were highly prized by the aborigines. There were 105 blacks on the station at that time, and there was scarcely one of them who was not in robust health. Wonga, a very intelligent aboriginal, showed them some opossum skins which he had tanned with the bark of the native trees, and he showed that he was fully competent to discriminate the barks and select the best.
>
> On the 14th July, 1865, the Central Board received a general report from Mr. Green, extracts from which will be read with interest, he says:
>
> The old men generally hunt every fine day, but the young men hunt only two days in the week. They work on the other four days. They make rugs with the skins of the opossum, kangaroo, and

> wallaby, for each of which they get from £1 to £1.15s.With the moneys thus obtained they buy boots, hats, and clothes, powder and shot, and occasionally meat. Tommy Hobson has bought a good mare, and a saddle and bridle. A few years ago I could not prevent him from spending all his money in drink; but now he has always money on hand, and he keeps himself, his wife, and three children, always well clothed. ... The greater number of the women keep their huts, themselves, and the clothes of their husbands very clean. In their spare time they make baskets for sale, and with the money they get for these they buy little things for their huts. There are 104 blacks here. They are from six different parts of the colony; and there have been only a few cases of drunkenness since they came. They all agree very well. When any strife arises it is settled in a kind of court, held in the schoolroom, at which I reside.
>
> Many persons who take an interest in the welfare of the aborigines, have from time to time visited this station; and, as far as the results of their observations are known to the board, they corroborate the statements of their officers (*The Argus*, 14/6/1866).

Barwick (1998: 83–4) has shown how the Coranderrk residents were able to raise their standard of living by their 'canny' expenditure of income from crafts and their wages. Visitors repeatedly commented that their homes and furnishings were equal to those of 'English workingmen' and superior to many selectors in the district.

> The women sold their baskets, eggs and fowls to visiting pedlars for fashion books, dress lengths and trimmings and then paid itinerant photographers to record their finery. Most of their furniture was home-made but they eagerly saved for sofas, chiffoniers and rocking chairs, curtains and wallpaper, clocks for the mantelpiece, pretty ornaments and tea cups, sewing machines and perambulators, spring carts and harness and guns, as well as all the utilitarian bedding, dishes, cutlery, candles and kerosene lamps not supplied by the Board. In addition to spending large sums in the Healesville shops they ordered furniture and other goods from Melbourne, and the manager in 1877 complained that 'there is no end to their propensity for good dress when they have the money'. They also spent their money on novels and newspapers although the station had a library of 'improving works'. The illustrated weeklies contained engravings of stirring events and portraits of Her Majesty do decorate their walls; the Melbourne daily newspapers, the *Age*, and *Argus*, were their main source of information on Board decisions. Rugs made from wallaby and possum skins, once worn as cloaks, took a fortnight's stitching but had a ready sale in 1865 at 20 to 35 shillings each. These and other indigenous manufactured goods – nets, weapons, bags and baskets – were a spare-time industry for the women and the aged. The sale of such crafts supplemented the income from crops by an average of £100 a year to 1874 but lessened as materials grew scarce (Barwick, 1998: 83–4).

2.4 1866 Intercolonial Exhibition

The *Ballarat Star* reported that Coranderrk Aboriginal people were preparing to exhibit their crafts at the forthcoming Intercolonial Exhibition.

> A number of the aborigines in the district of Coranderrk, Healesville, have expressed their intention of competing at the forthcoming exhibition, opossum skin rugs, baskets, &c., being the articles in which they intend to exhibit their emulative skill to the test of public verdict (*Ballarat Star*, 25/4/1866).

The Coranderrk residents were also presented at the exhibition, pictorially, as German photographer Charles Walter had been commissioned to prepare an exhibition of Aboriginal portraits to be displayed (see Lydon, 2005: chapter 2).

2.5 The Northern Wathawurrung Visit the 'Blackfellow's Township', March 1866

In early 1866, after intervention from John Green, seven Wathawurrung children were taken to Coranderrk, and their parents left Carngham determined to visit the station and satisfy themselves that their children were well cared for. They remained at Coranderrk for four months. Upon their return to Carngham, and the information they passed on about the 'blackfellow's township', the rest of the northern Wathawurrung visited Coranderrk. When these people returned, they petitioned Porteous to apply to the Board for a block of land at Chepstowe for their use (Clark, 2008). Local guardian, Andrew Porteous reported on the results of their visit, that:

> A number of the tribe have requested me to apply to the Government to reserve a block of land near Chepstowe for their use, where they might make a paddock, and grow wheat and potatoes, and erect permanent residences. I believe most of the tribe would remain permanently there if land was reserved for their use; their hunting is in the neighbourhood, and there is plenty of water. The young men seem to be very anxious about it; I believe this has arisen from hearing of the comfort and happiness of the Aborigines at Coranderrk. It would be little or nothing for the Govt. to reserve two sections for a year or two while the tribe lasted. A few more years will see them extinct.
>
> In the early part of this year, seven youths were sent from this tribe to Coranderrk. They left Carngham at three o'clock a.m. in a spring cart, to get the first train from Ballarat, and by nine o'clock the same morning, the parents of four of the youths took the road and followed their children, and by slow but continued marches found Coranderrk, and their children comfortable and happy under the care of Mr Green. The parents remained at Coranderrk for upwards of 4 months, and then returned to inform the tribe of the comfort and happiness they had witnessed in the blackfellows' township as they called it. On hearing their story, which was very interesting, the king made up his mind to take the whole tribe, and go to see the blackfellows' township; and I have been informed that the Hopkins tribe intend to join them, and proceed to Coranderrk (Victoria, 1866: 13).

William Thomas, the Guardian of Aborigines confirmed the Wathawurrung clan head's visit took place in 1866 when he was visited by 14 of the 'Mount Emu' people at his Merri Creek residence, *en route* to Coranderrk (Jnl 17/3/1866 in Thomas Papers, vol. 5). Porteous confirmed that the chief of the tribe and a number of others visited Coranderrk, and stayed there for a few weeks. 'On his return, he described everything that he had seen, and he thought that the arrangements at Coranderrk were a great improvement on the former habits of the blackfellows (Victoria, 1869: 33)'.

2.6 Daniel Matthews, May 1866

D.M. from Sandridge, was another who reported on a 'flying visit to the Aboriginal station at Coranderrk' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 12/6/1866). Coranderrk was part of a two-and-a-half-day stay at Healesville. In this embryonic period, Healesville boasted seven public-houses. D.M. is Daniel Matthews (1837–1902) who had a teaching association with the Sandridge (Port Melbourne) Wesleyan School in the early 1860s and who is known to have visited Coranderrk in 1866 (Cato, 1976: 27). Cato notes that he stayed several days and was impressed with the absurdity of the then prevailing notion that the Aborigines were some kind of poor beasts in human shape, incapable of learning. Matthews modelled his Aboriginal station 'Maloga' on the Murrray River near Moama in New South Wales after the Coranderrk station (see Cato, 1976).

> THE ABORIGINAL STATION, CORANDERRK
> Sir,- Having for a length of time promised myself a visit to the scene of Mr. Green's labours as aboriginal protector, I resolved to proceed in that direction on Saturday evening. ... The town of Healesville is as yet but small. It can, however, boast of seven public-houses. At a distance of two miles from Healesville, in the direction of the Yarra, and across a smaller hill of this mountainous district, in unpretending retirement on a gentle slope of the dividing range reclines the neat little native village of Coranderrk. The station is bounded on the south by the river. Yarra, and on the west by Badger's Creek, which supplies a never failing stream, of delicious water. It contains 2300 acres, of first-class agricultural land, some of it possessing extraordinary richness. ...The adults are quartered in nicely constructed bark huts, which form both sides of the main street of the township. The married folks have detached huts, while the single men and women have larger ones for their accommodation, and every means is employed to inculcate among them habits of cleanliness, neatness and order. Some of the more antiquated blacks consider this mode of life a sad innovation upon their former existence, and much prefer the primitive mia-mia to the modern hut. ... From this little commonwealth of the reclaimed relics of the scattered tribes of our aboriginal brethren may be learned true lessons of happiness, peace, and concord. Friday and Saturday of each week are employed by them in their original pursuits – fishing and hunting. This I consider to be a wise step, as their attachment for home is greatly enhanced by this compulsory absence, and they return to its enjoyments with increased pleasure. ...The experiment made at Coranderrk having proved so far successful, it is in contemplation to extend it. Government has been applied to and has granted two or three thousand acres on the Murray, somewhere near Echuca, for the purpose of another establishment. -
> D. M., Sandridge, 29th May (*Empire*, 11/6/1866)

One interesting residential aspect noticed by D.M. concerned the preference of the older people to live in traditional mia mias rather than occupy the cottages or huts supplied to them at the station (see Figure 2.1, which shows a man and his two wives at their willam or mia-mia). One of these residents was old Mary of the Ballarat tribe. 'She could speak very little English and spent most of her time sitting at her camp entrance wrapped in a possum rug and smoking an old clay pipe. She usually had a small fire near, with a billy of tea beside it, as well as her cats and dogs' (Symonds, 1982: 44). Massola (1969: 8) noted that the residents were in the habit of erecting mia-

Figure 2.1: Victorian Aboriginals and Mia Mia. John Kruger, photographer. (Author's picture collection)

mias and bark huts in their 'summer camp' on the flat on the right hand side of the road where it crosses the Yarra River. In the 1920s he claimed it was still possible for travellers and tourists to pull up at these camps and obtain boomerangs and other weapons and beautifully made baskets. In the later years this access to passing traffic may have served to reinforce the value of continuing this traditional practice of living in willams or mia-mias.

Diane Barwick's analysis of Aboriginal women's craft production has shown how vital it was to the viability of Coranderrk during its formative years in the 1860s and 1870s. Barwick claimed that the rush baskets and rugs the Aboriginal women and some old men made for sale at Coranderrk were more profitable in the early years than men's participation in seasonal employment (Nugent, 2011: 78). In November 1867, R. Brough Smyth, the secretary of the Central Board visited Coranderrk and reported that in the homes the residents were in the habit of hanging native baskets up against the walls which were ornamented with pictures (Victoria, 1869: 19). He recommended that the residents 'should also be encouraged to make baskets and rugs for sale, and the moneys got in this way, as well as by the sale of fruit, &c., should be paid into the consolidated revenue', instead of being discretionary spending for the residents. Green persuaded the Board to refuse Smyth's recommendation arguing that 'the women and aged men had a right to profit from the crafts they made in their spare time' (Barwick, 1998: 88).

2.7 Joseph Shaw's Visit to Coranderrk, 1868

In 1868 Joseph Shaw, the young missionary at Yelta, on the Murray River visited the station and spent several days there. Little would he know that in 14 years' time he would return to Coranderrk as its teacher, and become its longest-serving superintendent? He wrote of his 1868 visit:

> A few weeks ago I spent a few days at Coranderrk Mission, and what I saw there filled me with joy. There was quite a little village of Aborigines, living in substantial cottages of bark, each cottage having two rooms. These were erected by the people themselves, under Mr. Green's guidance. There are about 80 to 100 men, women and children living on the mission. The women are taught domestic duties and sewing, while the men are employed on growing wheat, oats, potatoes and vegetables, and other farm work. The children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and several have made good progress. Each morning and evening all assemble for Divine Service in a large weatherboard schoolroom, and a more quiet and attentive congregation could hardly be found (Shaw, 1949: 14).

2.8 Sale of Coranderrk Baskets in Melbourne

In 1869 the Coranderrk residents had a retail outlet in Collins Street in Melbourne from which they were able to sell their craft. Sold through Reed's Fancy Repository, the proprietor had agreed to sell them without charge or commission. The local papers ran with the story.

> Says the Telegraph-.—Some interesting specimens of native basket work, from the aborigines station at Coranderrk, are now on view at Mr Reed's fancy repository in Collins street, Melbourne, where they have been sent for sale. They consist of baskets and small grass basket nets, which are made by the aboriginal women and young girls while the men are employed on the farm or in hunting. The material used is the common coarse grass which is found growing in the swampy lands near Coranderrk. If encouragement be given to this industry the women and girls will soon produce elegant carriage baskets, and baskets for fruit, flowers, &c (*Ballarat Star*, 22/7/1869).

> The women of Coranderrk 'are not idle. They employ themselves in making baskets, nets; and bags, and many really useful and beautiful baskets are now on sale at Mr Reed's fancy repository in Collins-street east. The baskets are made of the common coarse grass found growing in the swampy lands near Coranderrk. Some of them are elegant in form, and all of them are durable. Few more interesting presents could be sent to Europe. Mr Brough Smyth has kindly advertised the sale of these articles at his own expense, in order to encourage the native women to persevere with the work' (*Geelong Advertiser,* 22/7/1869).

> THE ABORIGINES.
> In reference to the efforts that have been made to encourage the aborigines in industrial pursuits, and Mr. Reed, of the Fancy Repository in Collins-street, having undertaken to sell the baskets and nets which they manufacture free of cost, and without deduction of any kind, it is only proper to report that when the secretary of the Central Board for Aborigines visited the station a few days ago, and handed to the aborigines the several sums which they had earned by their

> industry, they testified in the most lively manner their appreciation of, the efforts made on their behalf, and promised to give the utmost attention to any hints for improvements in the form of the baskets, &c. About twenty-seven baskets were lately sent to Mr. Reed for sale. They are of various forms and sizes, and some of them are elegant, and all of them are neatly and strongly made (*The Argus*, 13/9/1869).

Brough Smyth (Victoria: 1871: 8) noted that:

> There are few native weapons to be found now at Coranderrk. Not without some difficulty fire-sticks, and asked one of the men to make fire after the native fashion, in order that a sketch of him and his implements might be made. As showing how small must have been the intercourse amongst the Aborigines in the olden time, I may mention that whilst a southern black was engaged in this employment (twirling the upright stick), a Murray black – a recent arrival at the Coranderrk station – said that he could make fire much quicker and with less labor. Knowing the method he would employ, which is the same as that practised in many parts of New Zealand by the Maories, I asked him to set to work, and he did so, raising a smoke in a few seconds. This surprised the southern Aborigines, and they were not well pleased to see that one of their own race was somewhat in advance of them. The women spend the time they can spare from the cares of their households in making baskets, nets, and bags. The forms of the baskets are good, and since I made designs for them they have improved rapidly, and are now capable of fashioning quite intricate patterns.

2.9 R.H. Otter, 1872

In the early 1870s visitors' accounts such as Otter (1872) and Craig (1873) confirm the consolidation of the tourist economy at Coranderrk that emerged in the 1860s in which residents made artefacts and handicrafts for the emerging tourist trade. Robert Henry Otter visited Australia in late 1872 on advice from his physician to spend the English winter abroad on account of his invalidism.[8] He travelled with his brother and a cousin and arrived in Melbourne on 13 December 1872 on the *Renown* – Green's Blackwell Liner.[9] In his publication, Otter (1882: 15) reveals that he remained a month in Melbourne from 14 December 1872 to 15 January 1873 and spent a further week in February 1874. In the preface to his publication, he explained that the purpose of his book was to 'give those who are advised by their doctors to spend their winters away from England on account of health, some information respecting the different places which I have myself visited for the same reason'. He wished to inform his readers of the easiest routes, the weather to be prepared for, and the occupations and amusements which the visited places afforded.

8 Otter (1836–1914) lived at Queenwood, Chertsey in Surrey, where he was a J.P. He is believed to have been a zoologist. He was married to Isabella Harriett Gamble and they had at least three children.
9 Shipping Arrivals notices in *The Argus* (14/12/1872) confirm that a Mr R.H. Otter, Mr J.H. Otter and Mr. Francis Otter were on board.

During his stay in Melbourne he visited Coranderrk as part of a five or six day excursion by buggy to 'the black spur range of the Dandenong Mountains'. In his account of his visit he has overstated the number of residents – there were approximately 107 residents (Victoria, 1871: 3), not over 400.

> On this expedition we visited a place called Healesville, where the Colonial Government has established one of its reserves for the small remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants which is still left in the Colony. There are between 400 and 500 of these natives gathered together and living in huts round the house of the Government Superintendent. There is a school for the children, and every effort is made to teach both young and old the way to get their living by husbandry and simple handicraft.[10] From what I could hear, however, the natives do not seem to take to civilised ways, and it seems probable that they will soon become extinct, except in those parts of Australia which are still uncolonised by white men (Otter, 1882: 19–20).

From Melbourne, Otter visited Hobart, Sydney, Wollongong, the Blue Mountains, Bathurst, Goulburn, Brisbane, Maryborough, the Darling Downs, and the Riverina and Wagga Wagga, yet his visit to Coranderrk was the only time he met with Aboriginal people.

The Spectator (19/8/1882) considered Otter's book furnished 'a comprehensive account of the Australian Colonies seen from the point of view of the health-seeker, and contain, among other interesting details, a very charming account of life upon the Stations'.

2.10 James Whitelaw Craig, March 1875

James Whitelaw Craig (22/3/1849–16/9/1880) was an engineer by training, from Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland, but his passion was natural history. In 1873 his health deteriorated and he was encouraged to travel overseas in an attempt at regaining his health. He spent two years in Australia from November 1874 until November 1876 collecting specimens of birds, insects, butterflies and plants which he later presented to the Paisley Museum. His book *Diary of a naturalist: being the record of three years' work collecting specimens in the south of France and Australia*, 1873–1877, was published posthumously in 1908 for private circulation. It was edited by his brother, A.F. Craig, who explains that his brother's diary was discovered some 28 years after his death and as it was found difficult to discriminate as to what should be left out and what should remain' 'it was decided to print the whole'.

10 The Central Board annual report (Victoria, 1872: 18) for this period, confirmed that 'most of the women make baskets for sale, sufficient to keep themselves in clothes and other little things for their houses'.

Craig visited Healesville on Monday 1 March 1875 and went to Coranderrk:

> Left Melbourne at 8 o'clock this morning for Healesville. Arrived at 2.30 p.m. Very hot day. Visited the Black Station, which is about two miles from Healesville. Found most of the blacks busy picking hops. Measles had been very prevalent among them. Some deaths occurred, and some of the blacks were still suffering. This has been a very prevalent disease in Melbourne this summer. Got a few insects.

He returned to Coranderrk four days later on Friday 5 March:

> Visited the Black Station in the afternoon. Spoke to two of the blacks, who told me that they were not compelled to remain at the station, but could leave when they liked, but preferred being there to knocking about. They are fed and clothed by Government, and some of them get 6/- a week when working full time. There hours are from nine till one, and from two till five. Saturday is a full holiday. There is a sewing school and a church in connection with the station. There are 130 blacks now at the station. Got a few insects to-day; also some native weapons, consisting of three boomerangs, one spear and wummerie (or spear thrower), a shield, and a waddy or club.

In the preface to the posthumous publication of his brother's diary, A.F. Craig refers to 'The Craig Collection of Australian Natural History' that was presented to the Paisley Museum. This collection contains a large number of birds and animals, and insects, 'as well as curiosities, such as the weapons used by the Australian Aborigines – spears, boomerangs, and such like'. In communications with Ms Nicola Macintyre, the Assistant Curator of Natural History, at Paisley Museum, I have learned that the Aboriginal objects in the Craig Collection were donated by A.F. Craig and their provenance is listed as Queensland. However, it is possible that this information was not attached to the objects when they were donated to the museum, but added later, so some of the objects may be from Victoria (N. Macintyre personal communication, 30/9/2014).

In relation to the Aboriginal people of Australia, A.F. Craig notes that his brother 'made friends with some of the Aborigines of Australia; bought curiosities from them, studied their habits and language, and has given in his Diary a vocabulary of some of the words' (Craig, 1908: 4). On a visit to Beenleigh on the Albert River, Craig sought out German missionary Johann Gottfried Haussman (1811–1901). Haussman had established the Bethesda mission in 1866 among the Yugambeh people. At The Gap, Craig asked one Aboriginal man if he could procure for him (Craig) the skull of a black fellow. Craig (1908: 171) recorded his response: 'he was horrified at the idea, and said the black fellow (evidently meaning his spirit) would come after him'. Craig's book includes three photographs of Queensland Aboriginal people – presumably they were taken by Craig during his stay in Australia.

A.F. Craig in a footnote confirmed that the cultural materials his brother obtained at Sandgate 'may be seen in the Paisley Museum' (Craig, 1908: 110; 148, 150). A careful

reading of Craig's diary reveals that during his sojourn in Australia, Craig collected a stone tomahawk from Dromana; boomerangs, spear and spear thrower, shield and clubs from Coranderrk; a woman's mourning headgear made from feathers, and a club and waddy from Sandgate; three boomerangs were purchased at Sandgate, along with a nulla-nulla and pieces of wood used for making fires and a different kind of morning badge worn in the hair; dilly bag from Brisbane; and a carving implement made from cheek bone of possum at The Gap (now a suburb of Brisbane), along with 230 words of vocabulary from Aboriginal people he met at The Gap in Queensland. Given that he collected boomerangs and clubs/nulla nulla from both Coranderrk and Sandgate it will be difficult to tell them apart if they have been incorrectly described. According to his diary, however, he only collected a spear and spear thrower and shield from Coranderrk and there is no indication that he collected examples of these anywhere else he visited (see Figures 2.2–2.7).

In terms of craftwork on the station, annual reports for the rest of the decade confirmed that the women continued to make baskets and table mats for which they received a ready sale and good prices (Victoria, 1874: 5).

2.11 Healesville in the 1880s

Symonds (1982: 61) has confirmed that with the greater leisure and prosperity of the 1880s, Healesville came into its own – in one eight day period in 1885 Cobb & Co. carried 1064 passengers to the three resort towns of Healesville, Fernshaw and Marysville. The railway from Lilydale to Healesville opened in March 1889 and that year overcrowding in hotels was such a problem that dining rooms, parlours, and sheds and stables were used as temporary sleeping quarters.

Diane Barwick (1998: 304) has reflected on the turbulence of the 1870s and 1880s:

> The successful farming township which Green and the Kulin had built was destroyed in the 1880s by a handful of men who had rarely visited and never listened to the Kulin. The blackfellows' township which had been a source of pride to the clan-heads Wonga and Barak became a shabby zoo where thousands of idle tourists visited on Sunday afternoons. They came for a 'peep at the blacks'; they went away with their prejudices confirmed.

Ethel Shaw has detailed the daily rhythm of life on the Coranderrk station in the 1880s when her parents assumed responsibility for the station;

> The day began with morning prayers. Men, women and children assembled in the church, a hymn was sung, followed by a brief reading from the Bible, a short talk, and a prayer to God for help and guidance through the day. After the service the men gathered near the bellpost for the day's orders. Often there were matters to be talked over. Anything that had happened to disturb the harmony of the people, or a quarrel to be settled, was brought up, the "'pros and cons"

Figure 2.2: Aboriginal shield in Craig Collection, Paisley Museum.

Figure 2.3: Aboriginal Shield in the Craig Collection, Paisley Museum.

Figure 2.4: Spear thrower in the Craig Collection, Paisley Museum

Figure 2.5: Spear thrower in the Craig Collection, Paisley Museum.

Figure 2.6: Aboriginal club in the Craig Collection, Paisley Museum.

Figure 2.7: Aboriginal club in the Craig Collection, Paisley Museum.

> discussed; often a little joke or friendly sarcasm from Mr. Shaw would provoke a hearty burst of laughter and restore peace. After the talk the men went to their allotted duties. There was regular work in the hop garden. The usual farm work to provide food for man and beast required a fair amount of labour. Paddocks had to be cleared, fences repaired, and a large herd of Herefords and Shorthorns to be looked after. All this provided work for many hands.
>
> The women attended to their homes, and children. Some were good housekeepers, and took a pride in keeping their houses and children neat and clean. Mrs. Shaw inspected the houses once a week; marks were given for the best-kept house, and prizes awarded at the end of year. The women enjoyed these visits, and were ready with smiles of welcome. They loved to chat over things and any little trouble and problem was talked over and advice given. They made their own and children's clothes. Mrs. Shaw held a sewing class for any who needed help, and also to make clothes for the old women. In their spare time the women made baskets, which found a ready sale to visitors. They had to go some distance to gather the right variety of rush. To prepare the rush for use, it was split from top to bottom with the thumb and first finger, the strands tied together in bundles, and then soaked in water for some hours. The bundles or hanks were hung up to dry; they were then ready for use. The old Aboriginal women began to make the basket by tieing three or four strands together and winding them around their big toes and working buttonholes stitch round the loops thus formed. The baskets were very firm and durable, and most attractive in appearance, particularly when decorated with a red rush worked in a pattern round the basket. This rush was rather scarce, so was only used as a decoration (Shaw, 1949: 16, 18).

Ethel Shaw (1949: 21) also explained how the Aboriginal residents would supplement the clothing they were provided with by the Government by purchasing extra materials from the money they received as wages or from the sales of weapons and baskets.

2.12 Hawkers at Coranderrk

During the 1880s Indian hawkers and Chinese tinkers were welcome visitors at Coranderrk which was one of their 'ports of call'. Ethel Shaw recalled that 'a cheery welcome awaited "Joe, the hawker". He knew well how to cater for his Aboriginal customers. Brightly-coloured materials for the women and bottles of scent and pomade for their hair were very popular among the belles and dandies of the community. "Jimmy the Chinaman" was also a favourite. With a bland smile wreathing his face, he soon disposed of his jars of preserved ginger, gaily-coloured silk handkerchiefs and sticks of lolly and liquorice. There was usually a ripple of amusement when "Charlie the crockery man" appeared with his quaint, old-fashioned van. He used to extol his wares by tapping them with his knuckles, assuring one and all that they were "very good china" (Shaw, 1949: 21) (see Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8: Hawkers at an Aboriginal Station, Australia (*The Pictorial World*, 14/10/1876: 112). The same image has been reproduced in the *Illustrated Australian News* (10/7/1876) with the title 'Hawkers at the Aboriginal Station, Coranderrk. View from a photograph by F. Kruger, Preston', where it has the following description: *Scene observed by the artist afforded evidence of the extent of the progress of civilisation among the aborigines settled in that locality. Here we see one of these hawkers who perambulate the country with their vehicles, containing, as usual, a miscellaneous assortment of goods, engaged in offering his bargains to an assemblage of the youthful population of the aboriginal settlement. The interest taken by the mothers and maidens in the gown pieces offered for their inspection is manifest, and equally so is the pleasing prospect before the lads of becoming possessors of moleskins and billycocks which they appear to be handling like any expert in soft goods (*Illustrated Australian News*, 10/7/1876)*.

2.13 Garnet Walch's Request for Information: 'Visitors Not Refused But Not Invited'

In October 1886, Garnet Walch, editor of the *Gem Guides* wrote to the Secretary of the Board advising him that he was compiling a new '"Guide to Melbourne" and he was anxious to include particulars of Melbourne's "remaining aborigines" and especially hints for intending visitors to "Coranderrk", means of reaching locality – formalities to be observe in order to obtain permission to view' (Lydon, 2005: 181). After a silence of a month, Walch sent a reminder. On this letter an official has noted 'Doesn't wish anything published as to best way of getting to Coranderrk – Visitors not refused but not invited'.

2.14 Massina's 1888 Visitor Guide

In 1888 Massina and Co. published a visitors' guide to the holiday destinations to the Upper Yarra and Fern Tree Gully districts. The guide sold for one shilling and contained 12 maps and detailed descriptions of the holiday destinations east of Melbourne. Aitken (2004: 51) in a study of early tourist guides in Victoria has confirmed it was published at the time the railway was being constructed between Ringwood and Fern Tree Gully and the Dandenongs were emerging as a recreational resort. The late nineteenth century was a time before the advent of the motor car completely changed the experience of tourism in the twentieth century. It was also the period before photography was widely available and guidebooks were often kept as mementoes of holidays and excursions. The guide is very clear that mementoes may be purchased at Coranderrk including possum skin rugs and fancy mats made from wallaby and koala skins:

> Noticeable on the right hand, about a mile or so from the Yarra, is the entrance gate to the Coranderrk Station, for the remnant of aboriginals still existing. It is a large reserve of over 4000 acres, and during the long regime of Mr. Green, that gentleman introduced hop-growing as one of the industries of the place, and fairly tested the district for the growth of that crop. The place is now presided over by Mr. Shaw, who seems to have secured the good-will of the unfortunate people, who are fast being thinned by age and disease. A good deal of work is got though at times, the women being expert with the needle, and skilled in the manipulation, from indigenous vegetation, of basketware, nets, and other articles of an ornamental or useful nature. Visitors wishing to take away mementoes of their trip may purchase many articles of great interest as exhibiting the skill and patience of their fabricators. Opossum rugs and fancy mats of wallaby and bear skins are also to be purchased by those desiring such (Massina, 1888: 56).

Joseph Shaw (Victoria, 1889: 6) confirmed that the residents continued to 'make a great deal of money during the summer months by making and selling baskets, and the money so earned is generally well laid out either in the purchasing of clothing, or furniture for their houses, and thus, they grow in habits of usefulness and industry'.

Edmonds and Clarke (2009: 15) have noted that by the end of the nineteenth century, Aboriginal material culture in south-east Australia had changed dramatically. New ways of drawing and painting remained secondary artistic practices compared to the manufacture and decoration of wooden and woven artefacts for trading with outsiders. They observe the irony that although Aboriginal people were being increasingly categorized and labelled according to their skin colour and their cultural practices were considered obsolete, they continued to fascinate the general public. They highlight how Coranderrk became a popular site for tourists who could purchase items perceived as traditional (that is, authentic and pre-contact) and view displays of boomerang throwing and listen to storytelling. They observe that William Barak (see Chapter 6) was one of those willing to share his culture with Europeans and they argue that it is possible that he and others on the station supported tourism

as a means of ensuring the survival of their art practices as well as a potential way of persuading Europeans of the validity of their culture.

2.15 Healesville in the Early 1900s

The advent of the motorcar in the early 1900s transformed tourism at Healesville. Henry Phillipe, an employee at Gracedale, a leading guesthouse, explained the nature of his work with visitors in the early 1900s:

> My work was to take people for day or half-day drives with horses and waggonettes. Maroondah Weir was one of the favourite drives. After coming to the weir the visitors would take a walk up the side of Mount Monda to see the Matthina Falls. Another half-day trip was to Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve where the natives would race up to display their wares and their prowess with boomerangs and the firestick. When the fire blazed was the signal for the hat to go round. These trips were also done by other livery stables in Healesville. Mr Cornish worked in one season sixty horses daily – and then there were trains to meet, in and out, all day as well (Symonds, 1982: 79) (see Figures 2.10–2.12).

James Smith in *The Cyclopedia of Victoria* (1905 vol. 3:44) in a description of Healesville and district stated that 'The aboriginal station at Coranderrk, the Graceburn and Maroondah weirs, and the Mathinna Falls are among the attractive features of the district more immediately surrounding Healesville'.

In the *Companion Guide to Healesville* ... and other localities in the district, published in 1904 and written by N.J. Caire and J.W. Lindt, the preface indicates that its purpose is 'to bring prominently before tourists and holiday seekers the beauties of the Mountain Scenery in the Healesville district'. Coranderrk is listed as one of the visitor attractions or 'outings' in the district and considered a place of interest within easy walking distance from Healesville:

> Coranderrk: – An aboriginal station under the supervision of Rev. Mr. Shaw. Open to the public during the week, Sundays excepted. The natives make and sell the various implements used in war and chase, and are always ready to give exhibitions of boomerang and spear throwing; also fire making. They are christianised. Most are educated, and assist in raising hops. Distance from railway station entrance gates: 2½ miles (Caire & Lindt, 1904: 45).

The guide contained the following 'photographic note' concerning Coranderrk: 'The aboriginal station. Permission to photograph must be obtained (Caire & Lindt, 1904: 63). The guidebook published 65 illustrations including one scene from Coranderrk: 'Type of Cooroboree Men at Coranderrk' (see Figure 2.9). The image does not appear in later editions. The image was used as a popular postcard in the early 1900s but with a different caption.

Figure 2.9: Corroboree men at Coranderrk native station, Vic. Source: Author's private collection. The three men (left to right) are: Lanky Manton; John Terrick; and Harry McRae.

Figure: 2.10: Black's Spur, Healesville. (Author's private collection).

Figure 2.11: Hermitage, Healesville. (c.1906–1910). J. Kercheval, Healesville, Victoria, Australia. (Author's private collection).

Figure: 2.12: 'Motor 'Bus between Healesville and Hermitage. Blacks Spur'. J.W. Lindt. Photo. (c. 1910) (Author's private collection).

2.16 Elinor Clowes and Coranderrk

Elinor M. Clowes (1911: 296–308) was another who had visited Coranderrk and recalled 'the people all seemed exceedingly leisurely and good tempered, and childishly clamorous for pennies. Two or three men emulated each other in throwing the boomerang for our amusement'. Clowes noted that the 'little huts at Coranderrk are tidy and comfortable, and the people well fed and cared for; but there is something inexpressibly sad about the whole encampment'.

Elinor May Clowes used the pseudonym 'Elinor Mordaunt'. In 1898 she married Maurice Wilhemn Wiehe in Mauritius. In January 1933 she married Robert Rawnsley Bowles. Born in Nottinghamshire in May 1877, she arrived in Australia in 1902 and lived in Melbourne for seven and a half years (Mordaunt 1937: 121). For the next nine years she published semi-travel accounts of her experiences in Australia, including her 1911 publication *On the Wallaby Through Victoria*. In 1909 she returned to England, and in 1915 she changed her name by deed poll to Evelyn May Mordaunt. She died in June 1942 in Oxford.[11] In the introduction to *On the Wallaby* ... she notes she was 'asked to write something about the country which has extended its hospitality to me ... I can only write about Victoria as I know it. ... my nose has been too close to the grindstone, while life has resolved itself for the most part into a mere struggle for existence. Still, that very struggle has brought me into touch with real people, and with the many grades of society which are to be found here as elsewhere, in spite of all the theories of democracy. I have edited a woman's fashion paper, of sorts, ... I have written short stories and articles; I have decorated houses, painted friezes, made blouses for tea-room girls, designed embroideries for the elect of Toorak, even for the sacred denizens of Government House. I have housekept, washed, ironed, cooked. Once I made a garden ... (Clowes, 1911: v-vii).

In the final chapter of *On the Wallaby Through Victoria* which is entitled 'Primitive Victoria', she devotes 13 pages to discussing Aboriginal people. She begins this discussion with reference to Coranderrk.

> About a couple of hours' journey from Melbourne, and within a short drive from Healesville, there is a Blacks' Settlement, where there is gathered together a remnant of those people who, with their four-footed fellows, were once in undisputed possession of these mountains and forests—before the days of the axe and saw, the "stump-jump," and the "mallee roller."
>
> It is a good many years since I was at Coranderrk, as the settlement is named, and therefore I have no very clear memories of it, excepting that the people all seemed exceedingly leisurely and good tempered, and childishly clamorous for pennies. Two or three men emulated each

11 Sally O'Neill, 'Mordaunt, Evelyn May (1872–1942)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mordaunt-evelyn-may-7650/text13379, published in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 14 August 2014.

> other in throwing the boomerang for our amusement, and in this the older men were certainly by far the best, literally bursting with pride at their achievements; one grey-haired man, taller and bigger-built than his fellows, sending it to such a height and distance that it had dwindled to a hardly distinguishable speck against the blue sky before it turned and came whistling back, in a sweeping semicircle, to drop almost exactly at the place where its owner stood.
>
> The little huts at Coranderrk are tidy and comfortable, and the people well fed and cared for; but there is something inexpressibly sad about the whole encampment. It is bad enough to see one person dying—say of consumption, or some such fatal disease—but it is worse by far to see a whole people die, no matter how ineffectual they may be in their powers of grappling with the conditions of modern life, for those individuals who are not actually dead are yet in a state of senile decay, and, having lost the wonderful instincts of a savage, are still groping wistfully and ignorantly among the intricate ways of civilization. Still, sometimes if you can borrow a black fellow, to go fishing or trapping with, you may yet catch sight of a spark of the old bushman's cunning and mysterious lore.

2.17 Officers from the American Fleet 1908

On 4 September 1908, 160 officers of the American fleet were guests of the Melbourne Automobile Club. Seventy cars made their way to Gracedale where they were entertained to lunch and amusements including boomerang throwing demonstrations (Symonds, 1982: 92). At a public meeting, convened by the shire president, in late July, to make arrangements for welcoming the officers of the American fleet on a trip to Fernshaw on 4th September it was decided upon a suggestion from the Automobile Club to have a demonstration of spear and boomerang throwing by the Coranderrk aborigines, and wood chopping contests-standing block and underhand (*Healesville & Yarra Glen Guardian*, 24/7/1908). The local paper ran the following story of the event:

> THE FLEET OFFICERS. HEALESVILLE'S WELCOME. A BIG DISPLAY.
> Local residents were early astir this morning in anticipation of the visit, as guests of the Melbourne Automobile Club, of over 100 officers of the American fleet. ... There were altogether 70 cars. They were given an enthusiastic ovation as they passed along the street *en route* for Fernshaw and Gracedale House, where they were to be entertained at lunch and to witness a programme of wood chopping contests and Coranderrk aboriginals making fire and throwing boomerangs and spears, That portion of the days entertainment was proceeding as we went to press. ... Several modern camera friends were present to take moving pictures of the proceedings (*Healesville & Yarra Glen Guardian*, 4/9/1908).

2.18 The Gift of Boomerangs, October 1909

Boomerangs made by the Coranderrk residents were given as gifts in October 1909. The occasion was a meeting of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce and each delegate was presented with a Coranderrk boomerang. Accompanying each boomerang was the following letter:

> We hand you a real Australian boomerang made by Australian blacks, and we trust you will accept this as a souvenir of your visit to Victoria. As the main feature of the boomerang is that it returns again to its thrower we hope you will recognise in this small gift the symbol of our wish that you will return again to Australia (*The Argus*, 4/10/1909).

Kleinert (2012: 93) has discussed how boomerangs came to represent a symbol of Australian identity; for Aboriginal people it was a critical part of their heritage, and boomerang throwing became a staged 'spectacle of Aboriginality' – one that everyone enjoyed.

2.19 The Companion Guide to Healesville

The *Companion Guide to Healesville, Blacks' Spur, Narbethng, Marysville, Mt Donnabuang, Ben Cairn, and The Taggerty*, published in 1916,[12] updated information presented in the first edition in 1904 (see above).

> Coranderrk Aboriginal Mission Station.
> Among the five or six stations set apart by the Victorian Government as homes for the aboriginal natives of this State, Coranderrk is perhaps the most important, supporting the largest community to be found on any of the Native Mission Stations. The well being of a native community depends largely on the organising capabilities of the manager in charge. The Rev. J. Shaw, who died some three years ago, during his long tenure of the position of Superintendent at Coranderrk proved what firmness and kindness will do in establishing, as it were, a social circle of the original sons and daughters of the Australian soil
>
> Mr. Shaw's place was taken, after an "interregnum," by Mr. Chas. Robarts, whose wife acts as matron. The policy of match-making between the full-blooded blacks has been the occasion of several picturesque weddings during Mr Robarts' term of office, and numerous little children about the Station prove very attractive to visitors.
>
> The daily routine at the Station works like a clock. At 7 a.m. rations are served out. At 9 a.m. the bell rings, and is the daily ca1l to morning prayers. The call is not a compulsory one, as all are free to avail themselves of the benefits of the pastor's spiritual services. Comfortable houses are provided for the numerous families, and these are gradually furnished and improved by the individual efforts of the various members of the community, as they occupy a great deal of their time in making weapons, such as spears, waddies, boomerangs, shields, etc., which they dispose of to the numerous visitors who call at the station.
>
> The station is not by any means regarded as a show place, but the genial Superintendent is always pleased to grant permission for visitors to see around the place on their applying to him. Sunday is regarded as a day of rest, all work being suspended, and the usual church services are held in the building used for that purpose.

12 Earlier editions were published in 1913 and 1914.

Coranderrk is listed as one of the visitor attractions or 'outings' in the district and considered a place of interest within easy walking distance from Healesville:

> Coranderrk: – An aboriginal station under the supervision of Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Robarts. Open to the public every day. The natives make and sell the various implements used in war and chase, and are always ready to give exhibitions of boomerang and spear throwing; also fire making. They are Christianised. Most are educated, and their chief employment is cattle breeding. Fishing and the sale of weapons and baskets engage their attention at odd times. Distance from railway station entrance gates: 2½ miles.

The guide contained the following 'photographic note' concerning Coranderrk: 'The aboriginal station. Permission to photograph is not now necessary except from the natives concerned. Any promise of photographs to them should be faithfully kept, or an equivalent sent, as they feel greatly offended with those who do not fulfil their promise.

Massola (1975: 41) asserts that 'Sundays and holidays were "open days" and visitors came to the station to look around and, if they wished, could buy "curios" from the natives', but Maurice Robarts in his reminiscences was clear that Saturdays were 'open days' (Clark 2014b: 220):

> For two successive winters about 1911–12 we had a Coranderrk football team (all coloured) cheered on lustily by the whole settlement, & Badger Creek community; their pleasure in the sport won them the premiership of the Yarra Valley Association in the second season. It is rather amusing to recall that a popular position amongst the older men in late summer afternoon was playing marbles & they were really good. Many of the older women made baskets, from rushes grown on the Yarra river flats, these were always saleable to visitors to the station, permitted on Saturdays & driven out from Healesville by wagonette or cab. Fishing was good in both the Badger & Yarra. Making of Aboriginal weapons & curios for sale was a popular occupation (Clark, 2014b: 220).

2.20 Raffia Work, 1909

In 1909 the women's basket work at Coranderrk underwent a transformation as they began to learn raffia work. The matron of Coranderrk, Natalie Robarts, first discussed this in her diary:

> On Wednesdays, her 'day off', Mrs Robarts went to Lilydale for a lesson on raffia work, which she was learning from a Miss Hynes, who was later employed for some time as governess to the Robarts' children. Mrs Robarts obtained permission from the Board to teach raffia work to the Coranderrk women they seem quite interested in it and are looking forward to their lessons (Robarts diary 14/7/1909 in Clark, 2014b: 34f).

Two months later she noted 'We had quite a little pleasant disturbance, Mr. Fisk[13] the photographer came to take several photos of the natives, and I proposed he should take the women at Raffia work, & so he did …' (Robarts diary 8/9/1909 in Clark, 2014b: 38). The new industry was local news:

> A New Industry at Coranderrk.
> Mr and Mrs Robarts, managers at Coranderrk station, are to be congratulated on their introduction of an industry that promises to be of more than ordinary interest and importance. Raffia work is becoming very popular in its varied forms of belts and baskets, bats and other articles of use and ornament. The pliable fibre is admirably adapted to the dexterous manipulation for which our Coranderrk workers are so famed, and already, many samples of their work may be seen at the station. At the same time it need not be feared that the more characteristic green rush work for which our natives have so far been known will suffer by this new industry. At certain seasons of the year, the green rush is not obtainable; for instance, it is just now very scarce, whereas Raffia fibre is always on the market, and will be used when the green rush is hard to get. In this way Coranderrk visitors will be less rarely disappointed in their desire to secure momentoes [sic] of their visit. To watch the nimble native fingers at work fashioning these articles is quite a treat, the women being notable for their slim and shapely hands. They are being trained at present by Miss Hyne, governess to Mrs Robarts' children, who now resides at the station, having left her former residence at Lilydale. Miss Hyne learnt Raffia work in America, where it is "all the rage," and she was until a while ago one of the most sought after teachers of this work in Melbourne. With so able a teacher and such apt pupils Coranderrk should soon become notable for its Raffia work (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 17/9/1909).

Natalie Robarts diarized the first sales: 'The first Raffia work was sold last week, Violet sold her belt for 1/6 & she is working another which is ordered. Eliza Fenton also disposed of her first belt & Miss Hyne of a basket, all looks encouraging' (Robarts diary 9/10/1909 in Clark, 2014b: 40). The Board would later report that 'The introduction of the Raffia basket-making has been very successful; a number of the women make these baskets and find ready sale for them' (Victoria, 1911: 5f).

2.21 South African Cricket Team, February 1911

In February 1911, several players from the South African cricket team were visiting Healesville and they were entertained by several Aboriginal men from Coranderrk who demonstrated boomerang-throwing and fire-making (see Figure 2.13). Both *The Argus* and the local Healesville paper published accounts of the visit

13 Presumably Massola mistranscribed this surname – I suspect Natalie Robarts had written the phonetic Fish instead of Fysh which Massola misread as Fisk. This entry is referring to Ernest Fysh, a local Healesville photographer. A copy of Fysh's photograph of the raffia workers at Coranderrk is reproduced in Lydon (2005: 206).

Figure 2.13: 'McLaren Aboriginal at Corranderrk Station' (Author's picture collection). The State Library of Victoria has a photograph entitled King Billy & a Mate, Coranderrk Station' (see Figure 6.1) which contains William Barak standing with this man on his left. According to the SLV catalogue entry the photographer is W.H. Ferguson.

BATSMEN AND BOOMERANGS.
Healesville Thursday – A number of the South African cricketers who visited Healesville by motor car yesterday were entertained by boomerang-throwing and fire-making by several aborigines from Coranderrk. Enamoured of the possibilities of the Australian boomerang, which to them appeared a more puzzling weapon than the assegai of their native land, the cricketers insisted on being allowed to learn how to throw it. The result was that a large number of spectators were attracted by the unusual sight of six well-dressed young men, and a portly gentleman of more mature years madly throwing boomerangs in the main street. So delighted were the members of the team with their swiftly acquired proficiency that each left Healesville with a boomerang as a souvenir (*The Argus*, 17/2/1911).

The South African cricketers had a trip from Melbourne to the Black Spur by motors last week. Several of the aborigines from Coranderrk, who happened to be in the town at the time, gave an exhibition of boomerang throwing and also their method of lighting fires. For about an hour

> boomerangs were flying about all over the place, and before the motors departed many of the South Africans had become quite adept at throwing these ancient weapons. The visitors evidently enjoyed the unique exhibition, considering the way in which they purchased boomerangs from the makers, and no doubt the gentlemen from Coranderrk would like the visitors to pay many such visits to Healesville (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 24/2/1911).

Symonds (1982: 94) has noted that in '1911 tourists flocked to Healesville and it became known as the premier tourist resort in the State. Christmas was described as the best ever experienced and even at Easter 10,000 visited the town, 5,000 of them by train'.

2.22 Temptations in the Tourist Resort of Healesville, 1911

In his annual report for 1911, Charles Robarts reported that he had some concern with the proximity of Coranderrk to the tourist resort of Healesville – he considered that alcohol was too readily available to the men:

> The conduct of the people on the whole has been fair. This Station being only 3 miles from the township of Healesville, which, being a tourist resort, offers attractions to which the natives are so easily drawn. The women and children are satisfied with the picture shows, &c, but the men who can and will get drink, by the help of the outside half-castes who do not come under the Aborigines Restriction Act, often give me a deal of trouble (Victoria, 1912: 5f)

2.23 Healesville Shire Council: Coranderrk 'Will Ruin Healesville as a Tourist Resort'

In 1914 and 1915 Healesville residents petitioned the government to resume the Coranderrk reserve for a permanent military camp. The Healesville Shire Council organized a public protest meeting asserting that 'the congregation of a degenerate race a few miles from the township will ruin Healesville as a tourist resort' (Barwick 1998: 306–7). This was a ridiculous claim given that Coranderrk was a staple for the tourism industry in Healesville and the townsfolk had been 'touting tours of Coranderrk as a major tourist attraction for decades' (Barwick, 1898: 307). Barwick (1998: 307) asserts that in the post war years some 2,000 visitors went to Coranderrk every year.

2.24 Rev. Frederic Chambers Spurr – Impressions and Experiences of Coranderrk

In 1915 Rev. Frederic Chambers Spurr, minister of the First Baptist Church in Melbourne from 1909–1914, published an account of his experiences and impressions in Australia – entitled *Five years under the Southern Cross: experiences and impressions*

(see Appendix 2.1). It included his observations of Coranderrk. In the preface to the work, Spurr explained that much of it was based on a large number of articles on life in the Commonwealth he had written for the English periodical *Christian World*. Spurr had succeeded Rev. S. Pearce Carey as Minister at the Collins-St Baptist Church in May 1909. He had begun his clerical career in Wales and was at one time special missionary for the Baptist Union of Great Britain. Before coming to Melbourne he was pastor of Maze Pond Church, London. An earlier ministry was at Cardiff. In early 1914 he returned to London where he succeeded Rev. Frederick Mayer as minister of the Regent's Park Chapel, London (*The Advertiser*, 1/5/1914).

The book was reviewed in the *Euroa Advertiser* (21/5/1915)

> A Poor King.
> Hardly less entertaining are the author's observations regarding the aborigines. Almost every district in the State has had its Billy – a last lone aboriginal to whom somebody or other gave a brass plate bearing a royal inscription. These derelicts of the black race were only small boys at the time of the great inrush of the white population. Their 'kinship' was a joke. According to many authorities, the Victorian blacks had no 'kings,' or any 'chiefs'; their tribal organisation was on a different plan. Mr. Spurr found a colored identity who had a plate bearing the words 'King of Birchup,' and he reflects upon the last state of the mighty fallen with moving pathos.
>
> Native Cricket.
> We read further on that when playing cricket," the Coranderrk aborigines used as a bat 'part of a boomerang.' The author does not say whether there was any big hitting. He discovered, too, that when an aborigine throws a boomerang it 'whistles and sings.'

2.25 Communal Sharing of Blankets, 1919

Management's concerns with the eradication of some aspects of Aboriginal culture were still a reality as late as 1919, five years before the break up of Coranderrk. In a letter to the Board, the manager, Charles Robarts, hinted at a specific way in which the Aboriginal residents were maintaining their traditional practice of communal sharing. The issue concerned the annual issue of blankets – the manager reported that he did not order any blankets in 1918 as he 'found by looking into each family's supply they had sufficient. Out of habit and custom, the natives asked for the blankets, had they been presented, they would either have been given to outside families or exchanged for some inferior article, or even … for erecting shelters when camping by the river' (Robarts 16/1/1919 in Land, 2006: 192). Land's (2006: 192) analysis is that the policy of providing clothes on an individual basis was being used by Robarts to try to curtail communal sharing of resources and to reduce the availability of blankets to be used for shelter on river sorties.

2.26 Tourism in the 1920s – Before the Closure of Coranderrk

Lydon (2005: 212) has noted that from 1918–20, the Blacks' Spur Motor Service Garage took daily 'pleasure drives' to Coranderrk for a fee of two and a half shillings. Charles Robarts, the station manager, reported in July 1921 that tourism traffic at Coranderrk had increased, and estimated that some 2,000 visitors had been to the station during the past year which demanded that he constantly repair the road and build new fences (Lydon, 2005: 212). This popularity is confirmed by an article in *The Argus* (24/1/1922) which detailed the attractions in the Healesville district and considered 'One of the most interesting Saturday half-day trips is to Coranderrk aboriginal station, three miles from Healesville'. Lydon (2005: 177) has argued that a visit to Coranderrk 'became a popular way to spend a day off, and by 1921, approximately four thousand visitors passed through every year, with hundreds arriving on Christmas Day and other public holidays'.

2.27 Mrs Aeneas Gunn, Coranderrk, and John Terrick

Jeannie Gunn lived at Elsey station on the Roper River, south of Darwin for 13 months before the untimely death of her husband saw her return to Victoria and live with her father at Monbulk. At Elsey she had taken a keen interest in the Aboriginal people on the station, and once back in Melbourne they became the focus of two publications: *The Little Black Princess* (1905) and *We of the Never Never* (1908). Presumably the interest in Aboriginal people that had been kindled at Elsey was continued at Coranderrk, some 35 km to the northeast. For example, Natalie Robarts noted in her diary for 22/2/1917, that 'Mrs. Gunn (Mrs Aeneas Gunn, authoress of *A Little Black Princess*) is with us since two weeks (Robarts diary 22/2/1917 in Clark, 2014b: 61). At Coranderrk she took a particular interest in John Terrick.

Margaret Berry, Jeannie Gunn's niece, has written the following in her *Memoir of Jeannie Gunn*:

> Jeannie returned to Australia in October 1913, as she felt she needed the 'influence of the local environment', the scent and sounds of the bush. She continued to work on *The Making of Monbulk* [which she'd begun in 1910] but, perhaps feeling more attuned to writing about the Aborigines, in 1917 she started to write another book to be called *Terrick: His Book*. She had focussed her attention on the Coranderrk Settlement near Healesville, in the hope of recording the habits and customs of the tribe there.
>
> Terrick was the head of the tribe, and she would talk to him and try to elicit from him the information she wanted. He showed her his way of making fire, for instance, which differed from the way of the Elsey blacks. But he was old by then and there wasn't enough time left for her to find out all she wanted to know. This book never passed the stage of rough notes. Another one of the blacks there, Lanky, taught her how to throw a boomerang and make it come back.

> I always knew when she was going to Coranderrk because she would come home with yards and yards of flimsy blue gossamer material, which she would make into squares to give to the women of the tribe. They preferred blue. 'It goes with our dark skins', they said. They often gave her baskets they had made.

John Terrick died in June 1921. Natalie Robarts recorded his death and funeral:

> I did not record the death of John Terrick, who just went out like a candle, there was no grumbling, but always real courtesy was shown a polite "thank you mam".[14] Mrs Gunn & Mr McAlister came to his funeral owing to the slowness of the coffin makers & the short winter days, when we left the church it was dusk. How it all seemed fitting with the hills all around us, the dead being placed in a dray which rumbled softly on the grass. The horse plodded to the Cemetery Hill amongst gum trees followed by all the people of the station. Mrs Gunn wished to accompany her old friend to his last destination (Robarts diary 23/6/1921 in Clark, 2014b: 85).[15]

In 1953, Oswald Robarts, Natalie Robarts's journalist son, used his mother's diary to memorialise the death of John Terrick and discussed his relationship with Mrs Gunn:

> LAST VICTORIAN CHIEFS REST IN OBSCURITY
> When the matron of Coranderrk Aboriginal Station recorded the death of John Terrick in the winter of 1921, she wrote of his last illness: "There was no grumbling; always a polite "thank you ma'am," for every small attention." Son of one of Victoria's last aboriginal chiefs, John Terrick had come originally from the Terricks whose tribal domain lay to the north of the State. He was one of the few at Coranderrk Station who, as a youth, had been initiated according to tribal law. To-day he lies buried in an area the Queen will visit when in Victoria next year. – By O.C.R.
>
> John Terrick was tall, slim and erect, courteous and quietly reserved. He had always been kind to the sick and to little children, though, as a true aborigine, it might be said that he had definite views on the place of women in the home or on walkabout. As one of the older generation of aborigines his loss was keenly felt by others on the station.
>
> At intervals for more than two years before Terrick's death Mrs. Aeneas Gunn had stayed at Coranderrk. She spent much time with Terrick and his wife Ellen on their rambles by the Badger River and the Yarra, gathering from his material on aboriginal legends and tribal lore. Already time had sealed the door on much that was gone forever. Research failed to provide sufficient additional material and a projected work, tentatively titled "Terrick – His Book," was reluctantly laid aside. Australian aboriginal history is thereby the poorer.
>
> But when John Terrick died the little "Missus" of Ealey station – of "We of the Never Never" – had not forgotten. She came specially from Melbourne to be present at the service on that late winter afternoon in the little wooden church at Coranderrk. Afterward, with dusk closing in a

14 John Terrick died 22 June 1921 (Massola, 1975: 98).

15 Maurice's summary: 'John Terrick passed away suddenly … There was no grumbling with him, always courtesy was shown, and a polite 'thank you; mum' Mrs Gunn [Mrs Aeneas Gunn spent a lot of time with him in an endeavour to make him relate tales of his early days] & Mr McAlister [a grazier from Tarrawarra and a member of the Board] came to his funeral (Clark, 2014b: 85).

> procession followed on foot behind Terrick's coffin, winding slowly past the venerable pines and old hop kilns. It crossed s little Bridge and ascended to the cemetery among the gum trees on a knoll which looks westward across the Yarra flats to Steel Range and eastward toward Mounts Riddell and Toole-be-wong (Turm-be-waang). By her own wish Mrs. Gunn had taken her place in that silent cortege. After the burial service, read by the manager of the station, Terrick was laid to rest not far from William Barak, who had been the last chief and last surviving member of the Yarra Yarra tribe. Nearby were others who also occupy a special place in the early story of Victoria (*Cairns Post*, 28/12/1953)[16]

2.28 Dame Nellie Melba and Coranderrk

Dame Nellie Melba was another famous 'local' with a strong connection to Coranderrk.

Melba's connection with Coranderrk stretched back to her childhood when her father David Mitchell leased a farmhouse named 'Steel's Flats' comprised of some 10,000 acres located on Steels Creek between Healesville and Coldstream in 1868,[17] and Dalry station in 1876 (Billis & Kenyon, 1974) (when Coranderrk was formed in 1863 it was excised from Dalry station), and her brother, Charles Mitchell, was a frequent visitor to Coranderrk during his family's time at Dalry (Otto, 2010: 35). Hetherington (1995: 21) argues that it was at Steel's Flat that Melba discovered a love of the Australian bush that stayed with her for her whole life. In 1878 David Mitchell also purchased Cave Hill Farm near Lilydale where he quarried limestone. It was no surprise then when in 1909 she purchased some land in the Lilydale-Coldstream district, and named it Coombe Cottage, after a historic house at Kingston Hill, Surrey, which she had rented over the summer several years earlier. The cottage was close to her brother Charlie at Cave Hill and her father's St Hubert's vineyard at Lilydale (Blainey, 2009: 264). Over the next two years under the guidance of architect and civil engineer John Grainger (the father of pianist and composer Percy Grainger), the cottage was transformed into a gracious English-style house (Blainey, 2009: 266, 270). One newspaper *Melbourne Punch* 'declared it was better equipped than the most up-to-date city hotel' (Blainey, 2009: 271). When not touring Melba stayed at Coldstream and entertained; her guests included various Victorian governors; British lords, such as Lord Richard Nevill and Lord Northcliffe; English actress Ellen Terry; the Australian prime minister Billy Hughes; Harrington Clare Lees, the Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne; and Australian artists such as Norman Lindsay, John Longstaff, and Hans Heyson. On occasions Melba would visit Coranderrk, some 15km distant, sometimes with visiting

16 I have reorganized this article as it had been typeset incorrectly in the original newspaper publication.

17 http://www.nelliemelbamuseum.com.au/the_farmer.htm site accessed 29/09/2014.

dignitaries, other times with her family. The Robarts diary entry for 1921 is another example:

> Dame Nellie Melba, her daughter-in-law Mrs Armstrong, & her manager Mr Powell arrived this morning as is usual with her, by car, she was most charming in her manner, & even gave Russell £1 because he is the most industrious & pleasant man on the station. It was quite pleasant chatting with her & her son's wife seems refined & nice (Robarts diary 27/9/1921 in Clark, 2014b: 87).[18]

Maurice Robarts's summary of this entry: 'Dame Nellie and some of her relatives here again for a picnic by the river. Very agreeable, she gave Russell £1. (On one occasion Dad had to take her to task about having. liquor at her picnics, as she or some of the party would pass it on to some of the natives, the lady was not at all happy about being restricted in what she wanted to do)' (Robarts diary 27/9/1921 in Clark, 2014b: 87).

2.29 Lanky Manton and Alick Mullett at the VFL Preliminary Final, October 1921

Natalie Robarts, in her Coranderrk diary, records that 'Lanky Manton accompanied by Alick Mullett went to the final football match in Melbourne yesterday,[19] the old scamp refused to leave the grounds in time to catch the evening train, with all the money he made yesterday among the crowd by throwing boomerangs &c, the publicans will have received the most of it & he poor ignorant man will return home much the worse for wear, go to bed for several days & send for medicines of all sorts, most probably to cure his 'gentry' & also head-aches etc etc' (Robarts Diary 9/10/1921 in Clark, 2014b: 88). Healy (2007: 295) has suggested that examples such as these demonstrate that Aboriginal people had found ways to undermine and challenge white conceptions of Aboriginality. Manton's and Mullett's performance at the football finals in Melbourne in October 1912 is proof that Aboriginal culture was thriving and not disappearing.

2.30 Agnes (Annie) Edwards Visits Coranderrk, January 1923

On 31 January 1923, Natalie Robarts noted that the station had been visited by an Aboriginal woman from Swan Hill named Annie Edwards. Unfortunately neither

18 Powell is Lionel Powell, Melba's London agent who managed her tours in the British Isles (Blainey 2009: 277). Mrs Armstrong is Evelyn (Evie) Doyle who married Melba's son George Armstrong in early 1913.

19 This was, presumably, the VFL preliminary final between Richmond and Carlton, staged at the MCG on 8 October 1921.

Robarts's entry nor the article in *The Argus* (31/1/1923) reveals her impressions of Coranderrk.

> Annie Manton brought down an old black woman who has travelled down from Swan Hill, named Annie Edwards. She tells me that she presented Lady Foster with a 'bouquet of flowers'. This presentation turns out to be an ornament made of parrot feathers representing a tree put on a stand. Lady Foster was evidently moved by the present made by the only Aboriginal woman of the district & told her she would do her best to arrange that the old woman should have a trip to Melbourne. Most probably it was on her own request. I can see in the cunning manner which is so strong in the remnant of Australian race, they never give anything without expecting mountains of reward & the 'bouquet' was a way of introducing herself & what she probably had uppermost in her mind – a trip away (Robarts Diary 31/1/1923 in Clark, 2014b: 91).

The Argus (31/1/1923) published an account of Mrs Edwards's visit to Melbourne and Coranderrk. Unimpressed with Melbourne – it was far too cold and there was altogether too much 'rush' about it – she decided to visit Coranderrk for a few days before returning to Swan Hill. Jan Penney has published a biography of Agnes Edwards (1873–1928)[20] in which she explains that one of her specialties was hand-made crafted flowers using bird feathers.

Annie Edwards was from the same country as Lanky Manton – Swan Hill – it is possible they may have been kin, which may explain her desire to spend time at Coranderrk during her visit to Melbourne.

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20 Jan Penney, 'Edwards, Agnes (1873–1928)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/edwards-agnes-12900/text23303, published first in hardcopy 2005, accessed online 28 November 2014.

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Appendix 2.1 Spurr's (1915) Reminiscences of Coranderrk

CHAPTER XVIII AMONGST THE ABORIGINES

WHEN the first settlers came to Australia they found in possession of the country a black population, representing a humanity low down in the scale. The native population was never in reality so large as many persons have imagined. It is difficult to arrive at exact figures, because in the north there are still large numbers of natives living in a state of practical savagery. These roam about at their will. Where the white man has penetrated, however, the black has gradually receded. When the black adopts "civilised" ways, his already precarious existence becomes yet more precarious. Affecting the white man's vices-the first thing he naturally copies-he speedily runs down the hill and passes off the scene. The native population is being gradually but surely wiped out.

In less than five decades the number of aborigines has been reduced from 1,694 to 652, and this in the State of Victoria alone. At the census of 1901 there were found only 271 natives of pure blood in the State, and 381 of half-castes. At the census of 1911 it was found that the figures had fallen to 196. If in fifty years the decrease in population has been so marked and so startling, it requires no prophetic gift to foretell the speedy extinction of the Australian native. A few more years and not a black will be left. That terrible law of the survival of the fittest will again have asserted itself.

When, therefore, the opportunity presented itself to me to see one of the three native settlements still left in Victoria, of course I immediately availed myself of it.

Two hours' steady climbing on the railway brings one to Healesville. And four miles from Healesville lies Coranderrk, a Government settlement for the aborigines. Quite off the road lies the colony of seventy men and women. There is no indication of its existence other than what is supplied by a fingerpost, which signifies nothing to anyone who does not know what lies behind the name Coranderrk. But the site is ideal for a retired residence. It lies in the centre of a vast amphitheatre of hills, and day and night a profound silence envelops the colony. Never a sound from the outside world penetrates the solitude. The quietness is that of a mausoleum. The race that inhabits it is slowly dying; what more fitting as an accompaniment of death than the solemn stillness which already heralds the eternal stillness of the tomb?

There is more than a suggestion of the American South in this colony. The old men and women, dressed in an odd mixture of British costumes, might well be the originals of some of the characters in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Black skins, grisly hair, and light-coloured garments form a curious compound. There is no fashion, no symmetry in any of the garments. Slouch hats of the Wild West, straw hats of Bond Street, and old billycock hats make up the male headgear; while various coloured vests, trousers, coats, and cravats complete the attire.

The log cabins, some twenty in all, which are scattered over the settlement, complete the illusion that, after all, we are in the American South, amongst the negro population. The one dash of modernity is supplied by one or two mulattos--girls-who, clad in becoming white garments, present a really attractive picture. These girls treated us to a little service of song in the humble meeting-house which is the head-quarters of the mission propaganda in the colony. For all these folk understand English-the younger generation nothing but English-and they all attend church. They are docile and happy, save for an occasional row, in which the original vernacular is used with freedom and emphasis. It was touching to hear these girls of the second generation sing simple Sankey hymns, and to reflect that the day must inevitably come when on this Government estate of 2,400 acres there would be no such songs sung by native lips. The younger people marry, and children are born; but the race is surely dying off. Some mixed marriages occur, and the offspring of these are half-castes, who are as little welcomed in the schools as the pure-blooded native children. One of them pathetically remarked to me that they were shunned by the white children. The colour line is as marked here as in America.

From the point of view of attractiveness the colony has much to recommend it. Pasture land surrounds the houses, and most of the natives keep their own cows. Everything, of course, is exceedingly simple, and it is the simplicity that attracts. Laundry work is done out of doors in a primitive manner. We found one buxom young lady seated lazily by the side of a tub in which her clothes lay soaking. She stretched forth her hands and rubbed her clothes in a style that suggested that any day next week would do to finish them. In a little natural basin on the slope of the hill the water of a rivulet had been collected into a large bath or reservoir, and the youngsters congregated about in a way that showed that they had not lost the instincts of their fathers for water gymnastics. One very modern touch appeared in the shape of three irregular pieces of wood arranged as cricket stumps. It was a species of cricket one might without difficulty have imagined prehistoric man to have played at. For bat, the youth of Coranderrk employed part of a boomerang.

That word reminds me of the remarkably clever display given to us by the natives of boomerang throwing. The boomerang is an innocent-looking weapon which the ignorant would never

suspect could be applied to dangerous work. In appearance it resembles a rude Tee-square, and each side is about a foot long. Thrown by an ignorant Briton like myself the weapon merely careers along the ground for a space of thirty or forty feet and nothing further happens, save the ironical laughter of the natives, who receive a demonstration that even a Briton does not know everything. But when the native throws it, the weapon accomplishes wonders. It suddenly becomes alive. It defies all general laws. The black sends the wood from him in a straight direction, but lo! it whistles and sings and describes circles in the air like a bird, and then suddenly descends to the earth in a vertical direction, landing at the very place from which it was projected. When we saw how easily the thing was done, we all caught the fever and became boomerang throwers. Lawyer, doctor, parson, and merchant stood in the field and went back in an instant to the primitive hunting ways of the savage. The boomerang is an ugly instrument to play with, however. After a flight of thirty seconds, during which it gains momentum, it descends like lightning, sometimes where it is not wanted. The doctor threw his boomerang with such precision that it returned twice and struck him violently on the hand-the hand that had thrown it. If boomerang throwing were introduced into England it would become a perfect craze. It would completely eclipse the diabolo craze. But then it would be necessary to increase the number of surgeons and ambulance men, for a blow from a boomerang might inflict serious damage.

Another native custom was shown to us, and proved to be most fascinating. It was the art of the fire-stick. Here, under our eyes, was exposed the primitive way of obtaining fire. The apparatus looked most unpromising. It consisted of a piece of soft wood about a foot long and six inches wide, a piece of dry fibre, and a short, narrow cane made of hard wood. Placing the cane between the palms of his two hands, the operator swiftly turned it into the soft wood beneath with a friction so powerful that the cane pierced the wood, causing it to smoke. The air, blowing through the hole thus made, fanned the spark which, falling upon the dry fibre beneath, set it on fire. Thus in one minute, by simple friction, a fire equal to any kindled by a match was blazing. The process was picturesque and exciting. In that group of darkies gathered round a piece of wood, a handful of fibre, and a hard cane, we beheld primitive man engaged in the task of kindling his fire. It was, for the moment, ancient history incarnate. And when it was over, a member of our party, drawing forth a box of vestas, remarked, "Good old Bryant and May." He remembered his mercies, and was thankful.

The one pathetic scene of the afternoon's visit was our encounter with the "King" of the natives. From the distance we observed a venerable figure approaching. As he came nearer we perceived a brass plate suspended by a chain around his neck. The apparition resembled, for all the world, a facchino of an Italian railway station – brass plate and all.[21] Inscribed upon the tablet was this legend:

ANTHONY ANDERSON,
King of Birchup [sic].[22]
And this was the deposed chief of the district, vanquished by the white man, chased out of his patrimony, and reduced to the proportions of an exile! I could not discover the native name of the ancient chief; it was certainly not Anthony Anderson. Nor could I discover why he had assumed the name of Anderson. He was a truly pathetic figure. Skin black as coal, his hair and beard were

21 A facchino is a porter.

22 Massola (1975: 50) confirms the brass plate inscription was 'Anthony Anderson, King of Birchip, Morton Plains, Donald and Surrounding District'. Anthony Anderson died in 1914, aged 74.

Figure 2.14: By Special Appointment to King Antony of Coranderrk, Healesville. Ernest G. Fysh photograph. State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection. Accession No. H141209.

nearly white. The odd costume he affected served only to set off the antiquity of his own person. An ancient pair of light trousers, no longer white; a begreased coat; a flaming red tie with the flame expiring, and a shapeless billycock hat dyed through and through with grease-such was his dress. The old man wept as he told us that all the friends of his youth were dead: he alone was left. Once, in the long ago, he was an agile chief, master of all that great stretch of property around the hills. But the white man came, and his reign was over. All that remains to him is a memory of the past, and a quiet asylum for the few remaining months or years of his life. The king wept as he recited his story, and then – bathos![23] he asked for a pourboire-and got it.[24] But, then, all kings get their "tips," some in one way, some in another. And Anthony Anderson, King of Birchup [sic], was primitive in his manner of asking – that is all (Spurr, 1915: 153–159) (see Figure 2. 14).

23 Bathos – an anticlimax, or triteness, a ludicrous descent from the exalted to the commonplace.
24 A pourboire is a gratuity, a tip.

3 Researchers and Coranderrk

Coranderrk was an important focus of research for anthropologists, archaeologists, naturalists, historians and others with an interest in Australian Aboriginal people. Lydon (2005: 170) describes researchers treating Coranderrk as 'a kind of ethnological archive'. Cawte (1986: 36) has argued that there was a strand of colonial thought – which may be characterised as imperialist, self-congratulatory, and social Darwinist – that regarded Australia as an 'evolutionary museum in which the primitive and civilised races could be studied side by side – at least while the remnants of the former survived'. This chapter considers contributions from six researchers – E.H. Giglioli, H.N. Moseley, C.J.D. Charnay, Rev. J. Mathew, L.W.G. Büchner, and Professor F.R. von Luschan – and a 1921 comment from a primary school teacher, named J.M. Provan, who was concerned about the impact the proposed closure of Coranderrk would have on the ability to conduct research into Aboriginal people. Ethel Shaw (1949: 29–30) has discussed the interaction of Aboriginal residents and researchers, explaining the need for a nuanced understanding of the research setting:

> The Aborigine does not tell everything; he has learnt to keep silent on some aspects of his life. There is not a tribe in Australia which does not know about the whites and their ideas on certain subjects. News passes quickly from one tribe to another, and they are quick to mislead the inquirer if it suits their purpose. Mr. Howitt, Mr. Matthews, and others, who made a study of the Aborigines, often visited Coranderrk, and were given much assistance by Mr. Shaw in compiling their works. He warned them to be very careful when questioning the old people, as they could very easily be misled by the Aborigines. Sometimes the old men got very tired of so much questioning by the students of the Aboriginal customs. One old man went off to bed one day after a long talk with an inquirer, saying he was "too sick". He remained "sick" until the visitor left the station, when he speedily recovered. "What was the matter with you, Dick?" someone asked. "Oh, that fellow; he ask too many question; he make me sick," was his reply.

3.1 Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, May 1867

In 1867 Italian zoologist and anthropologist Enrico Hillyer Giglioli (1845–1909), then director of the Royal Zoological Museum in Florence, Italy, visited Australia on the Italian warship *Magenta*, as part of a three-year scientific circumnavigation of the globe sponsored by the Italian government. London-born to an English mother and an Italian father, Giglioli studied natural science at the University of Pisa in 1864 and became director of the Royal Zoological Museum of Florence, where he began to teach zoology in 1869. After his death his collection went to the Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome.

Following his arrival in Melbourne in May 1867 (*The Age*, 6/5/1867),[25] Giglioli was keen to meet 'authentic' Aboriginal people. R. Brough Smyth, Vice-chairman of the Board, told him that 'the aborigines, of whom I had seen only a couple of miserable individuals in the streets of Melbourne, had almost disappeared from the neighbourhood of the city and the other centres of settlement', and recommended he visited Coranderrk, Sandhurst (Bendigo) or Echuca on the Murray River where Aboriginal people could be seen 'still in an almost independent state'. Subsequently he travelled to Ballarat to have a look at the goldfields in and around that city, and then to Lake Moira on the Murray River, in order to form an impression of the Aborigines then living by the river. On 21 May 1867 he visited Coranderrk. John Green was the superintendent at this time.

Massola (1975: 66–67) translated and published an extract from Giglioli's (1876: 772–4) account. Appendix 3.1 presents a longer translation of Giglioli's writings and indicates through footnotes where it differs from Massola's translation. One difference is significant: in Giglioli's account there is a section where he is discussing a family he met at Coranderrk: Tommy Hobson, his wife Maggie, and their son Thomas Harris. The discussion ends with the following sentence about Maggie and the child:

> His wife could be considered good looking for a native; the little one, like almost everyone to me, looked like a monkey.

Massola (1975: 67) translated this sentence:

> His wife was passably good looking for a native, and the little boy, like nearly all those I saw, was quite smart and learnt quickly.

The last line about the child in the original Italian is 'pareva una vera scimmia'. In this study (see Appendix 3.1) this is translated as 'looked like a monkey'. Massola (1975: 67) has translated this: 'was quite smart and learnt quickly'. Scimmia is the Italian noun for monkey or ape. It is hard to avoid drawing the conclusion that Massola (who was Italian-born and presumably a fluent Italian speaker) has deliberately mistranslated Giglioli's description of the child.

Giglioli commented on the fact that the Aboriginal people at Coranderrk made wares such as baskets, and 'beautiful blankets and rugs' from possum and kangaroo skins, which they sold to visitors. With their proceeds they bought clothes, ammunition, and supplies. He observed that the walls of residents' huts were often papered with cuttings of illustrated newspapers from England and Australia, as well as photographs which were 'much appreciated by these people'.

25 The writer of this article referred to Giglioli as an Italian 'savant'.

Giglioli's Victorian chapter includes several images of Aboriginal people from the Moira Lakes and Gippsland and indicates that they were taken from photographs. He does not include any images from Coranderrk; Massola (1975: facing p. 49 and p. 64) has reproduced four images presumably taken at Coranderrk by Giglioli (they have been reproduced in Lydon, 2005: 97). Lydon's (2005) research into Giglioli claims that some 11 Giglioli photographs remain extant – nine of which were taken at Coranderrk. In a later paper, after having undertaken further research into Giglioli, Lydon (2013: 6) notes that he 'obtained a series of *cartes de visite* by Melbourne-based travelling photographer Thomas Jetson Washbourne (some via the Italian consul, Cavaliere Giuseppe Biagli), that were the basis for some of his published engravings'. For example, the two images ascribed as belonging to the Moira Lakes (See Giglioli, 1875: 772), and sourced from Washbourne *cartes de visite*, are of Freddy Wheeler and Queen Mary, and according to the State Library of Victoria catalogue entry are dated from 1870, which, if correct, confirms that Giglioli received these items after his return to Italy.

Lydon (2001; 2005: 95-98; 2013; 2014; 2015) has undertaken research into Giglioli's Coranderrk visit as part of a larger research project into nineteenth century photography as a medium through which to understand Aboriginal people. Lydon (2013: 7) has argued that what is distinctive about Giglioli's Australian work was his use of photographic imagery to demonstrate the sameness and homogeneity, or 'ethnic unity' of the Australian mainland Aboriginal people. He demonstrated this by using images of Indigenous people 'living at outlying and widely separated points of the continent'. Giglioli's visual method was as follows:

> I have collected an extensive series of photographs of aborigines of various parts of Australia, which show that those of the north and west coasts often have thin limbs … while the aborigines of the surroundings of Adelaide, South Australia and of Queensland, probably by reason of their easier conditions of live, have well-shaped bodies, wide shoulders, big chests and muscular limbs (Giglioli, 1875: 777 in Lydon, 2013: 7).

3.2 Henry Nottidge Moseley, March 1874

Another researcher to visit Coranderrk was Henry Nottidge Moseley, the English naturalist who sailed on the global scientific expedition of the H.M.S. Challenger from 1872 to 1876. Born in Wandsworth in 1844, Moseley was the son of the Rev. Henry Moseley, a mathematician of some renown. In 1872, Moseley was appointed as a 'Naturalist' on the scientific staff of the Challenger. The vessel started on its scientific cruise in December 1872 and returned in May 1876. For Moseley the expedition gave him the opportunity to study fauna, flora, and races of men which 'are perishing rapidly day by day, and will soon be like the Dodo – things of the past. The history of these things once gone can never be recovered, but must remain for ever a gap in the knowledge of

mankind'. At Oxford he spent several years working on the results of the Challenger expedition, publishing amongst other things *Notes of a Naturalist on Board the "Challenger"*. A curious connection with Australia and possibly with Coranderrk was his prowess at throwing – he used to exhibit the method of throwing the boomerang and used the Australian throwing stick in the parks of Oxford.

In the preface to the First Edition (which was omitted from the second edition of 1892), Moseley explained that the contents of his book were mainly written on board H.M.S. Challenger and sent home from the various ports touched at, in the form of a journal (Moseley, 1879: v). In terms of Moseley's observations, he confirmed that the Coranderrk Aboriginal women had the potential to make much money by plaiting baskets for sale.

John Maynard (2009) has researched the history of organized sport and Aboriginal people and has argued that institutions such as missions and government-run stations encouraged Aboriginal sporting participation as a paternalistic means of civilizing Aboriginal people. Cricket became commonplace on missions, reserves, and pastoral stations. The Rev. Mathew Hale, for example, who established the missionary station at Poonindie, and where Joseph Shaw served before joining Coranderrk in the 1880s, believed that 'games and cricket in particular, could make Aborigines more industrious and moral' (Maynard, 2009: 2379). Moseley's account of his visit to Coranderrk demonstrates the impact of cricket on the Aboriginal residents. Later, Coranderrk and sports tourism become further entwined when visiting sporting teams such as the South African Cricket Team visited Healesville in 1911 and were entertained by boomerang throwing and fire-making. The tourists insisted that they be allowed to learn how to throw the boomerang. Regular sporting tournaments staged at Coranderrk become spectacles for visitors, such as that held on 26 March 1914 that included competitive sports such as boomerang throwing, fire-making, tug-of-war, basket making, a married women's foot race, and a young women's race. For a short period of time (1911–12) Coranderrk fielded a football team in the Yarra Valley Association, the local competition – the team made up entirely of Aboriginal players from Coranderrk won the premiership in its second season. Some of the Coranderrk men took advantage of major sporting events such as Victorian Football League matches and finals to leave the station and sell souvenirs and stage performances to earn income – examples include Lanky Manton and Alick Mullett who went to the VFL preliminary final between Richmond and Carlton at the Melbourne Cricket Ground on 8 October 1921 and put on demonstrations of boomerang throwing for the crowds for which they received money (see Clark, 2014: 88).

Lydon's (2005: 125) analysis of Moseley's narrative is that in the midst of his description of a cricket match at Coranderrk he makes a comment about the shape of the men's foreheads, 'revealing difference as much as sameness' – 'it articulates the distinction between being English and being Anglicized. The Coranderrk residents were so involved in their cricket match that despite the fact that he was willing to purchase a boomerang and was willing to hire their assistance to help him hunt a platy-

pus, they were unwilling to leave the game. In this participation in the tourist economy lost out to their love for cricket. Lydon considers this the 'menace of mimicry' – the gap between what Moseley demands such as discipline, thrift, and deference, and their own priorities – the cricket match. 'Expecting authentic primitivism, his account betrays his disappointment at their civilization, even as he sneers at them'.

Indigenous men were adept at activities such as standing with a shield and deflecting spears as they were thrown at them, often with the intent to injure; they were also skilled at hitting prey some distance away by throwing clubs, spears, and boomerangs – many of the skills needed to play the game of cricket were already possessed by Aboriginal men – it would be an easy matter to substitute a bat for a shield, and a ball for a club. They also played a game that involved catching a possum skin football so the idea of catching a cricket ball was not strange to them.

3.3 Désiré Charnay, November 1878

The next researcher to visit Coranderrk was the French expeditionary photographer Claude-Joseph Le Désiré Charnay, aka Désiré Charnay, who spent time at the station in November 1878. Rev. Strickland had been in charge for less than three months. According to a profile in Barthe (2007), 'Charnay, was born on 2 May 1828 at Fleurieux-sur-l'Arbresle in the Rhône region of France. ... After his studies in Paris and a few trips to Europe, he went off to teach French in New Orleans. Charnay later wrote that it was his reading of the bestselling account *Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán*, by John L. Stephens, which made him decide to go around the world in order to ''collect a photographic and topographic album of the most famous and interesting places'''. Thereafter he conducted expeditions in Mexico between 1857 and 1860; Madagascar in 1863, and Java and Australia in 1878.

Sabrina Esmeraldo (2007: 13–15), a photograph restorer, has researched Charnay's photography:

> The Musée du quai Branly has 500 of Désiré Charnay's negatives in its collections. Taken between 1857 and 1886, they reflect both the evolution of Charnay's methods and photographic techniques from the second half of the 19th century. The specificity of these collections is to assemble various series of collodion negatives transferred onto paper. Each series corresponds to one of his journeys. ... Charnay was planning to make better use of collodiobromide of silver throughout his trip to Australia. ''In Melbourne, I'll have six mirror boxes made similar much like mine [...] which I'll prepare with every imaginable care. These mirrors only remain viable and sensitive for a limited amount of time; I will only expose the plates and number them, and we shall then develop them in France''. The negatives from Australia are all indeed on glass plates.

The *Evening News* (9/9/1878) announced to its readers that 'Dr Charnay has been deputed by the French Government to collect anthropological curiosities. He is a passenger by the Normanby'. Davis (1981: 22) confirms that 'Charnay's expeditions to

Java and Australia were sponsored by an agency of the French government but probably had no directly political intent. Natural history and ethnology were his primary interests, and in both countries items were collected for shipment back to France'. Once in Australia, Charnay's primary research was conducted at two Aboriginal stations – one at Coranderrk in Victoria and the other at Humpy-Bong in Queensland. At both stations Charnay observed the Aboriginal residents, and photographed and measured them.

Charnay arrived in Melbourne 20 September 1878 (*The Argus*, 21/9/1878) where Sir Redmond Barry directed him to Coranderrk. He travelled to Coranderrk on 20 November 1878 spending four days there. Other than reporting his arrival in Melbourne, the Melbourne newspapers were silent on his two weeks in Victoria. On 28 November 1878 he sent a report to the Minister on the progress of his mission (see Appendix 3.3). Massola (1975: xi) published a translation of this report and in his introduction he explained that he had some misgivings in including the report as he believed Charnay had been unduly influenced by the views of the then superintendent Rev. Strickland:

> Charnay was apparently sent by the French Government in order to collect natural history specimens and to make photographic records of the natives, but details of both the man and his mission are lacking. His reports were printed in France after his return, but the copy from which I made the translation lacks the title and the first few pages, so no details of the publication can be given. Luckily, his account of Coranderrk is complete. Obviously Charnay's account is both rare and important, yet I have included it with some misgivings since I feel that he was greatly influenced in his opinions of the Coranderrk Aborigines by the then superintendent, the Rev. F. P. Strickland, who was a very prejudiced man and certainly not the right person for the position, as the subsequent enquiry into the management of the station showed. The 'repelling smell' of the natives, for instance, which Charnay puts down to personal uncleanliness, was an exaggerated and unkind reference to the natural odour Europeans detect in coloured races. We are aware of it simply because it is different from the one which emanates from our own body and which we cannot smell, but they notice it on us (Massola 1975: xi).

Elsewhere Massola (1975: 70) discusses the context of Charnay's report:

> These Reports take the shape of letters sent to 'Monsieur le Ministre' from the several localities visited by the writer, who therewith acquaints that gentleman of the progress of the 'Mission', that is the collecting the natural history specimens and the taking of measurements and photographs of the native peoples. Monsieur Charnay seems to have had his work greatly facilitated by the assistance given him by the Governments of the countries that he visited.

In Brisbane, in January 1879, Charnay met with the Board of Trustees of the Queensland Museum and explained that he 'was anxious to establish correspondents in all the colonies with a view to the exchange of specimens in every department of learning, as well as scientific works, maps, &c'. Charnay revealed that he was 'much interested in the anthropology of this part of Queensland, and notices in the few blacks

he has had an opportunity of examining a development of skull that differs from the aborigines of the north and south'. He was astonished at the apathy that existed as to collecting anthropological specimens, and believed that the trustees shall regret their lost opportunities when the chance no longer exists of making such collection. 'The trustees very cordially entered into M. Charnay's project of reciprocity, and have taken steps to furnish him with a small collection as an introductory exchange (*Brisbane Courier*, 10/1/1879). *The Queenslander* discussed Charnay's request for Aboriginal skeletal remains in a racist article on the value of Aboriginal people (*The Queenslander,* 18/1/1879; *Brisbane Courier*, 22/1/1879; *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 8/2/1879). *The Queenslander* followed this with a second piece detailing Charnay's request for the skeletons of two Aboriginal people currently awaiting capital punishment, only to learn that the two prisoners on death row had received a royal pardon (*The Queenslander,* 8/2/1879).

Having returned to France, Charnay delivered a lecture to the Geographical Society of Paris on 21 November 1879 at which he summarised his recent expeditions:

> M. Desire Charnay addressed the Society on the subject of his recent journey to Java and Australia, illustrating his remarks by photographs projected and illuminated by the electric light. ... In Australia M. Charnay had visited the towns of Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, and Adelaide; he spoke also of the aborigines, their legends, strange customs, and traditions. In describing the boomerang, the curious missile weapon of the Australians, he compared its form to that of a eucalyptus leaf, which he thought probably had first suggested the idea to the savages, and attributed the return movement of the missile in air to its helicoidal surface and the rotary movement given in throwing it. M. Charnay illustrated this explanation by throwing strips of cardboard shaped in the same way, an experiment which succeeded perfectly (Charnay, 1879: 275 in Davis, 1981: 24).

In January-February 1880 Charnay published an account of his 1878 visit entitled *Six Mois En Australie* (see Appendix 3.4).[26] The work contains an extensive description of Melbourne and includes illustrations of the Yarra River, Collins Street, the Burke and Wills statue, the Melbourne Public Library and the Fitzroy Gardens. He also gives a more general account of the Aboriginal Australians, with notes on costume and spirituality, together with a selection of illustrations. Charnay also describes his visits to Sydney, Brisbane and Adelaide which are accompanied by views of places of interest.

Thornton-Smith (in De Castella & Thornton-Smith, 1987: 168) has commented on Charnay's Coranderrk publications:

> On the basis of what he sees as the inevitable and imminent disappearance of an inferior race, Charnay criticizes both the attempts to adapt Aborigines to European ways, and their failure to

26 The work was also published in Italian as 'Sei mesi in Australia: di Desiderato Charnay, incaricato d'una missione scientifica dal ministero dell'instruzione pubblica'. *Il Giro de Mondo.* Milan? c. 1881, pp. 273–348.

> respond adequately. He gives a basically unsympathetic account of their laziness, immorality, smelliness and rapacity as encountered during a visit to the Coranderrk Aboriginal Station in 1877.

Davis (1981) has analysed Charnay's chronology as given in *Six Mois en Australie* and notes that once in Melbourne he visits monuments, the university, museum, state library, art museum, treasury, various parks, and suburbs. Sir Redmond Barry, Supreme Court judge, whom he regarded 'the most remarkable man in Victoria', acted as his tour guide suggesting interesting places to visit. Outside of Melbourne, his first regional tour in Victoria in early-October was by train to Beechworth. Later he visited Sandhurst where he toured gold mines and descended to the bottom of mine shaft. On 15 November he travelled to Saint-Hubert winery. On 20 November he visited Coranderrk and Healesville spending four days researching the Aboriginal station. Leaving Coranderrk he visited Blacks Spur and then returned to Melbourne. On 12 December he left Melbourne by train for Sydney and visiting Wodonga and the Murray River *en route*. In late December he sailed for Brisbane and on 31 December 1878 he arrived at Humpy-Bong, an Aboriginal settlement some 35 miles from Brisbane. At Humpy-Bong he studied the Aboriginal residents, witnessing their ceremonies and taking extensive photographs. During a stay of eight 'trying days' at Humpy-Bong he photographed the Aboriginal residents, obtained head measurements 'with difficulty' and obtained samples of hair by trading rum and tobacco. In January 1879, Charnay returned to Brisbane and after spending three days in Toowoomba left for France in March after calling into Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. On 9 December 1878, in Melbourne, Charnay sent five cases to France containing minerals, wood, and ornithological materials. The fifth case, weighing 59 kilograms, contained skulls, negatives, and weapons. The case contained 'a box of 26 negatives enclosed in an Australian basket. In the same basket you will find a packet of 7 small negatives of Australian types from Queensland, and another packet containing 5 samples of hair. There are also 7 various skulls, and fragments of skulls' (Davis, 1981: 172).

According to Lydon (2005: 172):

> Only three Coranderrk photographs taken by Charnay exist, suggesting that the recalcitrance of the people and their demands for recompense successfully thwarted him'. These are portraits of young, bare-chested men standing in front of a veranda post, which presumably served to steady the subjects and to provide a scale. As we would expect, they have consented to remove only their shirts – at a price!

Davis (1981: 148) and Lydon (2005: 173) reproduce one of these three photographs which are in the collection of the Musee de L'Homme, in Paris. Tony Bennett's (2013: 200) analysis of this image is as follows:

> Charnay's purpose had been to produce an anthropometric portrait after the fashion recommended by Thomas Huxley – that is, naked and arranged against standard measuring devices ... The

> significance of this photograph in relation to Coranderrk, however, is its rarity: the inhabitants of Coranderrk usually refused to be photographed other than fully clothed as they were only too aware of the association of nakedness with notions of savagery. Yet it was an exception that confirmed the rule.

A second Coranderrk photograph is in the Musee du Quai Branly. In 2007 it was used in a weblog promotion for a seminar presented on 3 March 2007 by Christine Barthe, scientific director of the Heritage Unit photographic collections at the Musee du Quai Branly, entitled '"Le Yucatán Est Ailleurs". Expéditions Photographiques (1857–1886) De Désiré Charnay'.[27]

In his report, Charnay explained that at Coranderrk he took some measurements, which was not easy despite the government order. In his longer article he alluded to the problems associated with measuring Aboriginal residents: 'These unfortunates infect, and I learnt something of it when I was obliged to manipulate them from top to bottom for my measurements'. Presumably he is alluding to common skin infections such as impetigo and ringworm. Charnay also had difficulty getting the men to undress for his photography, he explained their modesty as the 'natives pretended to be prudish' so they could 'obtain better rewards, so I gave them 2 shillings'. In terms of photographing the women, he found it was a waste of his time, as 'their gentlemen husbands (strange when one remembers their customs) were ferociously jealous'. Nevertheless despite these difficulties he managed to take some samples of types, front view and in profile on his first day at Coranderrk.

Charnay found some ancient Aboriginal weapons at Coranderrk, 'although they were very rare; the natives no longer manufacture them since they don't need them anymore'. Charnay considered their weapons were generally poorly finished, and roughly made; and did not compare with those of New Guinea and the islands of Polynesia. He saw some boomerang throwing and considered 'it is a marvel'. In his larger article he commented that 'the blacks of Coranderrk, like in the other stations, fabricate short stories for the collectors'.

On his second day of operations Charnay found that the Aboriginal sitting fees had increased overnight: 'the blacks announced that from now on it would be 5 shillings per person, and since I needed them, I had to accept their conditions. Then it became 10 shillings, then 20 and finally I sent them to the devil'. Graham-Stewart's (2011: 195) comment on Charnay's discussion of the sitting fees he was charged by the Coranderrk residents and the inflation he experienced in the short time he was there, was that 'The obvious way to benefit from the intrusion of photographers was to charge for the privilege. This would have been standard in any indigenous communities for whom income from tourists was welcome'. For Lydon (2005: 2) Charnay's experience of inflation suggested that 'Aboriginal people controlled the terms of their

27 http://www.sfp.asso.fr/vitevu/index.php/2007/03/03/140-le-yucatan-est-ailleurs-expeditions-photographiques-1857–1886-de-desire-charnay – accessed 16 October 2014.

representation by white photographers and scientists. It was also a time of marked political activism by the Coranderrk residents in their attempt to have John Green reinstated as superintendent and to prevent moves by the Board to close the station (Lydon, 2005: 147). Charnay experienced some of the resistance of the residents when he witnessed an exchange between the superintendent, Rev. Strickland, and several men regarding work in the hop fields (see Appendix 3.4).

3.4 Rev. John Mathew, January 1909

The Rev. John Mathew (1911) visited Lake Condah in August 1907 and Coranderrk in January 1909 conducting research into Aboriginal moieties.[28] In his journal paper he reveals that he met with

> four natives, one of whom was close on eighty and the others over sixty years of age, told me, when interrogated separately, that the old blacks professed to be able to distinguish between members of the Kurokaitch from those of the Kapaitch phratry and members of the Bundyl from those of the Wa by the quality of their hair. Two told me that one phratry had fine hair the other coarse; and corroborative of this distinction, a fifth native, belonging to Swan Hill on the Murray, taking hold of his hair said, "I'm Kirlba, straight hair, other fellows are Mukwar, curly hair," and went on to explain that the straight hair people could not marry among themselves but had to intermarry with the curly hair people, and vice versa (Mathew, 1910: 167).

The Bundyl/Wa (Eaglehawk/Crow) moieties are east Kulin who were at Coranderrk and the Kurokaitch/Kapatch (White cockatoo/Black cockatoo) moieties belong to west Kulin and Marr peoples of western Victoria.

His notes reveal that he spoke with Anthony Anderson, Isaac McDuff, Mrs Ellen Richards, a Gippsland man named Darby,[29] and Lanky Manton. The notes are concerned with moieties and Aboriginal stories and other topics.

In the John Mathew Papers there is one field booklet that has been captioned 'John Mathew: notes on Aborigines received from Mr John Green, Healesville. Barak of Coranderrk mentioned (some in breviscript)'.[30] It contains a list of European placenames and their Indigenous equivalent and meanings. For example, he lists Goorngalang, the name John Green conferred on his Healesville home, and presents the gloss 'the quartz out of which the spear jags were made'. His notes are concerned with mother-in-law avoidance; rain making; the myth of Moomoondik, the virgin, who was

28 The Robarts took control of Coranderrk on 11 January 1909; prior to their appointment John Mackie and Frank Tyers Bulmer were acting managers.

29 Either Albert Darby or Carl Darby.

30 Breviscript is a form of syllabic shorthand without vowels.

the only possessor of fire; burial practices; and fire making: the Yarra blacks produced fire by means of a kind of wood called tilwurk – this wood had a pithy centre.

In Mathew's papers there are some items of correspondence with Joseph Shaw (dated 25/6/1898 and 8/2/1909): it is evident that Shaw, owing to his familiarity with tribes around Wentworth who practiced matrilineal descent, assumed that the tribes around Melbourne followed the same practice. Once Mathew questioned this, Shaw spoke with William Barak and Dick Richards in 1898, who confirmed that they followed patrilineal descent.

3.5 L.W.G. Büchner, May 1912

In June 1912, Natalie Robarts noted that the Coranderrk station had been visited by a researcher named Büchner who wished to take skull and body measurements of the residents. As explained by Robarts, the researcher had mixed success in persuading them to consent to being measured.

> Last week we had the visit of a Mr. Büchner who is doing some Anthropological researches … He came to take the skull & body measurements of all the natives male & female, foot & finger prints etc. I knew he would have some trouble to persuade the natives to be measured etc. & I was not far wrong, on talking it over we found that there were only one dozen pure blacks from Victoria on the Station, so many crossing from N.S.W. & two from Queensland. Mr. Büchner … felt very sorry he could not persuade more of the natives [to be measured] (Robarts Diary 3/6/1912 in Clark, 2014: 54)

Louis (Ludwig) William Gunter Büchner was a 'Victorian Government Research Scholar' in the Physical Anthropology Department of the University of Melbourne studying under Professor Richard Berry. As Chair of Anatomy, Professor Berry joined the university in 1906 from Edinburgh and immediately restructured the department and created a physical anthropology collection. The Australian appointment gave Berry the opportunity to research 'racial anatomy' (Cawte, 1986: 43), and he was able to combine his skills in anatomical examination with anthropology and eugenic theory. Berry and Büchner were influenced by eugenics, the evolutionary theory that there was a correlation between skull size and intelligence (Spencer, 2008: 9). Berry was particularly interested in the Indigenous people of Australia and considered Australia and particularly Tasmania was an 'evolutionary museum' (Cawte, 1986: 43) and in one year of field work in Tasmania with his colleague Büchner, he 'discovered' 42 crania that were distributed to museums in Australia and overseas. Based on 27 measurements on each of 53 Tasmanian crania, Berry concluded that 'the Tasmanian stood nearest to *Homo fossilis*, but morphologically had progressed a very long way from *Homo primigenius*, and the anthropoid ape – very much farther than most writers would have us believe'(Cawte, 1986: 44). Anderson (2002: 206) explains that Berry's research was concerned with providing an objective measure of Aboriginal

intelligence – Aboriginal people 'were simply another group of small-headed people, and therefore might be classed, with white delinquents and criminals, among the feeble minded'. Berry had measured over 9,000 heads in Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia, of university students, school children, the poor and some Aboriginal people – he found the 'average Aboriginal head was the same size as the head of the average 13-year old white schoolboy, an average exceeded by 90 percent of adult whites' (Anderson, 2002: 206).

Six months after Büchner's visit, Natalie Robarts was asked to write a paper for the upcoming Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science conference to be held in Melbourne:

> I had been asked to write a paper for the Science Congress on 'The Victorian Aborigine as he is', which I did … I regret I did not listen to my own good sense & reason & read the paper myself, … Mr Büchner read the paper & as he told me himself, he is a poor reader, it lacked personality & colour … (Robarts Diary 21/1/1913 in Clark, 2014: 54)

Her paper 'The Victorian Aborigine as he is' was read at the XIV meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science held in Melbourne, by Büchner. The Adelaide *Advertiser* (14/1/1913) reported on the Melbourne congress and included a brief report on Natalie Robarts's paper, wrongly claiming that it was delivered by the author:

> A Dying Race.
> Mrs. N. Robarts read [sic] a paper on Victorian aborigines. So few children had been born of recent years, she said, and so many people had died among them, that the total number alive did not now exceed 133. In a few years the Victorian would share the fate of the now extinct Tasmanian aboriginal. Two causes of great mortality among the blacks were, first the mistaken idea, prompted by kindness, that the habits of wild and nomadic people could be changed to those of a civilised race; and secondly, contact with unscrupulous whites. Tuberculosis was making great havoc among Victorian blacks.

At the congress Büchner also read his own paper on his examination of the Aboriginal people of the Cape Barren Islands in Bass Strait – the basis of his anthropometric field work in December 1912 (see below) (*The Mercury*, 17/1/1913). Büchner considered the 'close intermarrying' on the islands 'was showing itself in the degenerate children who attended the Government school. The islanders, for the most part, were very listless and indolent, and were extremely improvident'. In November 1912, Büchner visited the Bass Strait Islands to conduct anthropometric research. *The Argus* (11/12/1912) reported on the preliminary results of his research and noted that he 'collected considerable scientific data of the half-castes, securing finger, foot, and hand prints, head measurements, body heights and weights. When these details are collated Mr Büchner believes that he will the more easily be able to trace the comparative racial characteristics of these lonely islanders'. The Hobart *Mercury* (30/11/1912) reported that during Büchner's field work on Cape Barren Island that 'cinematograph views were secured

of Mr Büchner at his interesting work'. Büchner (1913) and Malcolm (1920) included a crude genealogy of Captain Philip Thomas whose second marriage was to an 'Australian aboriginal half-caste' whom he identified as Eliza Bligh. This couple had eleven children. This work has been useful in native title research. Büchner's research led to several publications including 'A study of the Prognathism of the Tasmanian Aboriginal' (1912); 'An investigation of Fifty-two Tasmanian crania by Klaatch's Craniotrigonometrical Methods' (1912) – in this work Büchner argued that Aborigines descended from a number of streams of migrants, who were of diverse origins; 'Notes on certain of the Cape Barren Islanders, Furneaux Group, Bass Strait, Australia' (1913); 'Man, his origin, development, migrations and physical characteristics' (1913); and 'A study of the curvatures of the Tasmanian aboriginal cranium' (1914). With Richard J.A. Berry he conducted and published research into 'The correlation of size of head and intelligence: as estimated from the cubic capacity of brain of 33 Melbourne criminals hanged for murder' (1913)[31] and 'The craniometry of the Tasmanian Aboriginal' (1914).

In July 1919, L.W.G. Malcolm wrote a letter for circulation in Australian newspapers concerning his research into Indigenous Australians and sought assistance from Australian readers:

> Tasmanian Aborigines.
> Mr. L.W.G. Malcolm. F.R.S., F.R.G.S., an Australian resident in Cambridge, England, writes as follows: For several years I have been doing scientific work on the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines. During this time I have collected, a large amount of literature which has been written concerning them, but of late have been held up owing to the great majority of the Australian papers not being available in England. I would be very glad if any of your readers would send me references they may have seen in any papers concerning either the Australian or Tasmanian Aborigines. The title, name of author, date, number of volume and page are essential. I am desirous of obtaining special information about the death and burial customs, totemism, marriage laws, weapons, language, and so on. On the languages I have about a thousand references, but I wish to amplify this list. Any communications forwarded to me will be thankfully acknowledged! (*Cairns Post*, 31/7/1919).

Büchner's life history has been difficult to piece together, in part because of his name change. Originally named Büchner after his father, by 1915 when he enlisted in the Royal Artillery, he had added his mother's maiden name to his surname to become Büchner-Malcolm. By 1919 he had dropped Büchner from his name and used his mother's maiden name exclusively, and changed Gunter/Gunther to Gordon, becoming known as Louis William Gordon Malcolm or L.W.G. Malcolm.[32] We can only speculate as to the reasons for these name changes – perhaps it was because of the

31 For more information see *The Argus* (6/11/1912).

32 When I first encountered L.W.G. Büchner and L.W.G. Malcolm whilst undertaking native title research in 2002, I incorrectly believed L.W.G. Büchner to be a woman and Malcolm her married name (Clark, 2002).

opprobrium associated with his father for deserting his family or more likely it was because of the strong anti-German feeling associated with the outbreak of the First World War and he did not wish to have a German surname.[33]

He was born in Bourke in western New South Wales in 1885 to Mechanics Institute librarian Otto L.G. Büchner and Catherine Malcolm. The family relocated to Katoomba in the early 1890s where they suffered two tragedies – the first was the father's abandonment of his family in 1894 – and the second was the tragic death of his four younger siblings in a house fire at Katoomba in early July 1896. Louis Büchner attended Katoomba public school, and after leaving school joined the Australian Museum, Sydney. Whilst in Sydney he passed an examination in geology at Sydney Technical College. He attended the Ballarat School of Mines from 1907–9, and 1911 gaining certificates in Mine Management and Geology. In September 1912, Büchner delivered a lecture on the 'Science of Eugenics' at a meeting of the Race Preservation League in Melbourne (*The Argus*, 14/9/1912). After completing his studies at Ballarat he went to the University of Melbourne as a Government Research Scholar in anatomy and obtained numerous scholarships including the 1851 Exhibition Scholarship in 1914 and was undertaking research at Zurich University when war broke out. In 1915, as L.W.G. Büchner-Malcolm he obtained a commission in the Royal Field Artillery at Portsmouth. Lieut. Büchner-Malcolm was attached to the Nigeria Regiment, West African Frontier Force. Whilst in west Africa he undertook research into the Eghap people of central Cameroon. After the war he studied at Christ's College, Cambridge as L.W.G Malcolm, where he graduated in 1921 with a Master's degree in Anthropology. In 1925 he joined the Bristol Museum where he was the curator of archaeology and ethnology. Later that year he joined the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London as Conservator and later became the Director of the Museum (Larson, 2009) (See Figure 3.1). In 1932 he completed his PhD in the Faculty of Medicine, Christ's College, Cambridge, on 'Medical Museums: an historical and bibliographic study'. In 1935 he joined the Inspectorate of the London County Council organizing the use of museum collections for teaching in London schools. In 1937 he became Curator of the Horniman Museum in Forest Hill, London, a position he held until his death in 1946.

3.6 Professor Felix Ritter von Luschan, 1914

In August 1914 the members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science arrived in Australia for meetings in Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney. Amongst the members were Professor Felix Ritter von Luschan (1854–1924) (see Figure 3.2) and his wife Emma. Von Luschan was an Austrian doctor, anthropologist, explorer, archaeol-

33 This practice was widespread – even the British royal family in 1917 changed their family name from Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to Windsor.

Figure 3.1: Dr Louis William Gordon Malcolm (date unknown), Conservator at Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (1925–1934) Iconographic Collections, VOO27849, Wellcome Library No. 103i, London.[34]

ogist, and ethnographer. In Adelaide the University of Adelaide conferred an honorary D.Sc. on Professor Luschan (*The Advertiser*, 7/1/1916).[35] Association members and their families arrived in Melbourne by train from Adelaide on 14 August 1914. During a two-day meeting of the British Association at the University of Melbourne, Von Luschan read a paper on 'Culture and Degeneration' (*The Argus*, 19/8/1914). In Sydney, Professor Luschan accepted an invitation from the Eugenics Education Society to deliver an address on eugenics (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 14/8/1914). In this address he stressed that eugenics was 'an effort to ward off the spectre of degeneration. The only thing they could care for was the welfare of society. The way to cure crime was the complete and utter isolation of the criminal' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22/8/1914).

Whilst the British Association meetings were staged in Melbourne several members visited Coranderrk, including Professor von Luschan and his wife. Natalie Robarts diarised the news that they would be visiting:

> We are expecting next Saturday week – Dr. Professor von Lushan (sic) & his wife, who will be our guests until the following Monday morning. They are members of the British Association and

34 http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/V0027849.html

35 In December 1917, an annual meeting of the Senate of the University of Adelaide von Luschan's honorary doctorate voted to strike off the award owing to the fact that Australia was at war with Austria, however the chairperson explained that although the motion was carried, the University Act gave no power to withdraw degrees once they were conferred (*Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*, 7/12/1917).

Figure 3.2: Professor Dr. Felix von Luschan. Source: *Berliner Life*, Issue 02 (1907)[36]

> are visiting Coranderrk for the purpose of anthropological research … (Robarts diary 5/8/1914 in Clark, 2014: 57).

Two weeks later Robarts noted in her diary that the professor and his wife and others from the British Association had been and gone:

> Our dear Professor and his wife have come & gone! We have had an exceedingly nice time with their genial, warm and superior company … On Saturday afternoon a party of eight, ladies and gentlemen members of the British Association visited this Station … boomerang throwing, inspection of cottages, singing, everything was indulged in with vim & pleasure for all parties (Robarts diary 19/8/14 in Clark, 2014: 57).[37]

The visit to Coranderrk was local news:

> HEALESVILLE AND MARYSVILLE. HEALESVILLE, Sunday. About 50 members of the British Association and Victorian members visited Healesville yesterday, under the leadership of Mr. J.M. Reed, Surveyor-General. One party, including Professor Bateson, the president, and Profes-

36 http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Felix_von_Luschan_(BerlLeben_1907–02).jpg

37 As explained in Clark (2014), Natalie Robarts's first three diary booklets are no longer extant; only the fourth remains with members of her family. The only information from the lost booklets that we have is the condensed entries published by Massola (1975). In the entry for 19 August 1914, for example, Massola has edited the diary in two places – both concern Luschan and the members of the British Association – unfortunately we have no idea what Massola deleted.

> sors Hudson, Beare, and Armstrong, drove to Marysville, and will return tomorrow to the city. Another party went to the Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, where Dr. Luschan took measurements of the heads and features of the natives and collected other ethnological data (*Leader*, 22/8/1914).

During the meetings of the British Association in Australia the First World War was declared on 4 August 1914.

> Dr. von Luschan (Professor of Anthropology at Berlin University), like other Germans who attended the Congress, professed not to know what the war is about. He is a great explorer. It is to Dr. von Luschan that we have our knowledge of the Hittites and the Hivites. On his way home, the Professor proposes to explore Bagdad. The glittering decorations worn by the scientists at the Mayoral Ball quite outshone the ornaments of most of the ladies present. Some very beautiful orders were displayed by Dr. von Luschan. They were presented to him for his scientific work. Three were given him by the Kaiser, two by the Emperor of Austria, and one by France (*Sunday Times*, 30/8/1914).

In 1909 Professor von Luschan held the first chair of anthropology at Berlin's Frederick William University now known as Humboldt University. He created von Luschan's chromatic scale for classifying skin colour, which consisted of 36 opaque glass slides that were compared to the subject's skin. Karen O'Brien (2010) has shown how the perspectives of European philosophers and anthropologists ascribed racially constructed identities to Indigenous peoples that resulted in essentialising Indigenous experience. '[C]olonial constructs of Indigenous identity came to be based on race, blood quantum measurement and skin colour. The philosophies of Von Luschan and others such as Linnaeus, De Buffon, and Charles Darwin were constructed in a way that complimented European interests and colonial values' (O'Brien 2010: 5). Their work drew on the tropes of 'uncivilised' and 'primitive' and 'savage' and 'native' and was unequivocally influenced by the concept of 'noble savage'. Von Luschan was part of a 'new' science that attempted to develop empirical methods of explaining skin colour – his chromatic scale was centred on corporeal colour and the coding of skin colour in an attempt to rationalize a fixed race theory.

The Coranderrk matron, Natalie Robarts in her diary entries, notwithstanding Massola's redaction, simply notes that Von Luschan was visiting the station for anthropological research – regarding their visit she notes that there was 'boomerang throwing, inspection of cottages, singing'. *The Leader* was a little more expansive, noting that 'Dr. Luschan took measurements of the heads and features of the natives and collected other ethnological data'. This 'other ethnological data' included phonogram recordings of Aboriginal singing which are now in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv (Ruggendorfer & Szemethy, 2009: 132f):[38]

38 See Catherine J. Ellis (1990) Unpublished Report to AIATSIS on research in Germany during study leave, 1990. Discusses the von Luschan collection that includes Victorian songs from Coranderrk.

> Singing with boomerangs (serving as clapsticks): two performances by Russell and Lanki and two solo performances by Johnny;
> Singing without boomerangs: two performances by Lanki; and one performance by Russell.

The singers, presumably, are Lanky Manton, Billy Russell, and John Terrick.

3.7 J.M. Provan's Views on the Research Value of Retaining Coranderrk, 1921

In October 1921 a correspondent to *The Argus* named J.M. Provan cautioned the mistake that was being made in removing Coranderrk residents to Lake Tyers. Not only did the residents not wish to be relocated, but he considered that opportunity to study them will be that much harder if they are removed to a more distant location:

> CORANDERRK ABORIGINES. TO THE EDITOR OF *THE ARGUS*.
> Sir,-Is not a great mistake being made in the proposed removal of the aborigines from Coranderrk to Lake Tyers? The natives themselves do not want to leave their old home to go amongst strange tribes; and opportunities of studying these very interesting original owners of this land will be so much farther removed from Melbourne visitors.-
>
> Yours, &c.,
> J.M. PROVAN. Malvern, Sept. 29 (*The Argus*, 3/10/1921).[39]

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Appendix 3.1: Giglioli's (1876) Account of his 1867 Visit to Coranderrk

To supplement the information gathered about the Australian aborigines it remains for me to do another trip; The value of this first trip is it has left me with the most cordial and unceasing Victorian hospitality to make a trip to Coranderrk, a place set aside by the colonial government to collect the remaining fragments of the indigenous tribes who occupied the environs of Port Phillip when the first settlers landed. Coranderrk is not far from Melbourne, in the direction of Dandenong and close to Lilydale; the fenced area was intended to shelter indigenous since 1863, and covers an area of 2,300 acres.

At the time of my visit there were a hundred Aboriginal people of both sexes and of all ages belonging to various tribes.[40] They lived in a good home (young adolescents) and very well kept hut, the walls of which were in most cases papered with illustrated newspaper cuttings English & Australian, as well as photographs, much appreciated by these people; the furniture was rough,[41] but *serviceable* and almost all made on site by the same natives.

Around the houses about fifty acres were carefully planted with wheat, oats, potatoes and vegetables; in a fenced off area were 72 head of cattle. The men were employed to deforest the land, to *build* fences, in doing farm work and sheep farming; the women in housework and in making baskets; there was a school for young people and adults where those savages learned to read and to write, not without some good material success, l wasn't able to ascertain the same but in my opinion without improvement of their hapless[42] race which will certainly be extinct long before they are literate.[43] The men also receive practical instruction in agriculture; the women learn to sew, to bake, etc.

40 Massola's (1975: 66) excerpt begins with this sentence.
41 Or rustic.
42 Or Ill-fated, unfortunate.
43 This last part of the sentence could also be translated 'which will certainly be extinct long before they will lose their analphabetic [completely illiterate] status'.

What I liked at Coranderrk, was the cleanliness,[44] health and apparent contentment of those poor Australians; without a doubt the least the invading race can do for them is to soothe as much as possible their last few years. The workers receive 1½ pound of sugar, 3 ounces of tea, 5 pounds of flour and a roll of tobacco per week; those who idle about receive less; and everyone receives a little meat, about 100 pounds a week between all. The old hunt every day, the young have two days per week for this, on the other four days they must work; Sunday is a holiday, dedicated to religious education. They make beautiful blankets and rugs[45] from opossum and kangaroo skins which they can sell on their own account; with that money they buy clothes, ammunition and at times supplies.

One of the indigenous people named Tommy Hobson, with whom I spoke, in the past was a great drunkard, but since Coranderrk was established he was not only able to dress himself decently, his wife and three children, but he could buy, with his own money, a horse with harness. I found him in his house with his wife Maggie and her younger son Thomas Harris. I was moved by the happy and prosperous-looking little family. Tommy now is no more; two years after my visit 10 other aborigines were found dead as well as poor Hobson! Of the Australians that I had seen he was one of the most typical. His wife could be considered good looking for a native;[46] the little one, like almost everyone to me looked like a monkey.[47]

Among other natives[48] who especially attracted my attention during the day at Coranderrk, I will mention Simon Wonga, in appearance the most intelligent of all:[49] he had open eyes, a high forehead, dignified bearing, he was able to tan possum skins with bark he found. His wife Marie was very different in appearance. In terms of physical beauty certainly the trophy could have been given to spouses William and Annie Barak, both young and far more human than most of their countrymen.[50] The first belonged to the Yarra tribe, the second to that of the Lower Murray; they were married at Coranderrk in 1865 with full Anglican ceremony.

I saw at Coranderrk a dozen mixed race,[51] i.e. children of European fathers and Australian mothers; they almost always retain much of the maternal character, but often more attractive, as in the case of Willie Parker and the younger Mary; it was clear that they were not Negro Mulatto.[52] The establishment in question was ably directed by Mr. Green,[53] under the supervision of the *Central Board appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines in the colony of Victoria,* of which my friend Mr. Brough Smyth, was one of the most active members. Later I was given by Dr.

44 Or hygiene.
45 Or carpets.
46 Or an Indigine.
47 Massola (1975: 67) translates 'pareva una vera scimmia' 'looked like a monkey' as 'was quite smart and learnt quickly'.
48 Or Indigenous people.
49 Or 'smarter looking than everyone'.
50 Or compatriots.
51 Or 'half-castes'.
52 Or 'were lighter than the mulattoes with Negro women.
53 Massola's (1975: 67) excerpt ends here.

Mueller an almost complete collection of photographic portraits of indigenous and mixed race[54] admitted to Coranderrk, it was very helpful with my memories.[55]

In 1867 as well as Coranderrk, the Victorian government maintains totally or in part, other land for the use of natives, Lake Hindmarsh, Yelta, Lake Tyers, Lake Wellington, Geelong, Warrnambool, Mordialloc, Bacchus Marsh, Carngham, Mount Shadwell, Buangor, Framlingham, Carr's Plains, Sandford, Tangambalanga, Echuca, Gunbower and Tyntyndyer. They are smaller *agencies* to assist Aboriginal people; I am not aware that the other colonies have done as much. There were, however, often Aboriginal missions in various parts of other Australian colonies, among them I'll mention the protestant *Poonindie* (Port Lincoln) in South Australia, and the catholic mission at *New Norcia* in Western Australia, founded by Monsignor Salvado.

From the last (fifth) official report of the *Central Board* which I have in my hands, I note that from 1 August 1864 to 31 July of the following year, that committee was given many commodities and vestments to care for the aborigines; I'll give a few figures: 108,610 lbs of flour; 2991½ lbs of tea; 28,617 of sugar; 3181 of soap; 1175 pairs of woollen blankets; 790 pairs of trousers; 424 skirts, etc. etc. The poor indigenous can now always get food, clothes and medical care from that commendable body, although not resident; while their offspring, pure or half-caste, is taken in and educated. As well as local managers, the *Central Board* pays a *Guardian of Aborigines* and station *supervisors*.

The census of 1866 reported 1,908 natives in the colony of Victoria; in 1869 this number had dwindled to 1,834 which included 100 wanderers and others distributed among 6 stations, with approximately 20,000 acres of land reserved for their exclusive use; they had stone and wooden houses, often well cultivated gardens and orchards, flocks and herds well cared for.

The Victorian census of 1871 listed only 859 natives, 516 men and 343 women! The main harm was almost always from alcohol. As special laws were not enough to prevent drunkenness the *Central Board* prepared a new bill to present to the Colonial Parliament to best protect the Aboriginals. The pastoralist stations continued to use these men as rural police, *stockriders*, shepherds, and in washing and shearing sheep; the women sometimes as domestics; however, because of their wandering tendencies, it's difficult.

I remember that results from official reports in 1836, from 6 to 7000 Aboriginal people lived throughout the current area of Victoria and it was only in 1858 that they tried to halt their rapid extinction, although a protector of the poor savages was appointed since the early days of the colonization of Port Phillip.

All the evidence collected tends to prove that the terrible mortality, in addition to the multiple causes that kill the imperfect primitive brought into contact with civilized man, largely the abuse of alcoholic liquor and the vices arriving from it. However, I do not believe that the settler's guns are completely innocent of murder; I do not think that would be true of horrific Tasmanian episodes but in the early days a settler wasn't hesitant to shoot a native and currently on the boundaries, especially in Queensland the hostile meetings between the two races are anything but rare.

54 Or half-castes.

55 Giglioli is referring to portraits taken by Charles Walter in 1866.

Now I will give a summary of Australian ethnology, availing myself in a special way of news that I picked up on site and from recent colonial documents little known and particularly from cited Reports of the Committee of Inquiry into the Conditions of Aboriginal people in Victoria. Each scrap[56] led to the history of a people that is being lost, each has its own importance; in a few years the anthropologist who wants to visually study Australians will have to push his tours well into that land.

Appendix 3.2 Moseley's (1892) Account of his 1874 Visit to Coranderrk

Melbourne, March 17th to April 1st, 1874

My last excursion was up the valley of the Yarra, to the beginning of the "ranges,'' the Australian word for mountains, at a place called Healesville. I went with one of the assistants of Baron Von Muller, the celebrated botanist, who kindly offered me his assistant as a guide. My object was to, see some of the enormous Eucalyptus trees which grow in the "ranges," and which, as discovered by Baron von Muller, are the highest trees in the world, exceeding in height the *Sequoia gigantea* of California. One of these trees, measured when fallen, was found by Baron Muller to be 478 feet in length. ...

Not far from Healesville is a Government reserve, where a number of Aborigines are maintained at Government expense under a missionary.[57] The reserve is called Coranderrk. There were about 120 Blacks there. They live in a small village of rough wooden or bark houses, in the midst of which is the house of Mr. Green, the superintendent.

The Blacks have lately been employed in cultivating hops, and with tolerably good success, but they are incorrigibly lazy. They are delighted when the plough breaks down, and immediately take a holiday with glee. They had just finished picking the crop, so were playing cricket at about half a-mile from the village, and whilst they were amusing themselves, three Whites employed about the place were hard at work. In fact, the Whites do most of the work. The Black women might make much money by plaiting baskets for sale, and the men by catching fish and hunting, but they never will work till hard pressed.

We found the cricket party in high spirits, shouting with laughter, rows of spectators being seated on logs and chaffing the players with all the old English sallies; "Well hit!;" "Run it out!;" "Butter fingers!," &c. I was astonished at the extreme prominence of the supraciliary ridges of the men's foreheads. It was much greater in some of the Blacks than I had expected to see it, and looks far more marked in the recent state than in the skull. It is the striking feature of the face.

The men were all dressed as Europeans; they knew all about Mr. W.G. Grace and the All-England Eleven. One of them tried to impress on me the heaviness of the work they had just gone through in hop-picking, and that now it was a holiday, and he wished to know how much a bushel was paid in England for such work, evidently wanting to be able to be even with Mr. Green in the

56 briccolo

57 Massola's (1975: 68) excerpt begins with this sentence.

Figure 3.3: Aboriginal men playing cricket, N.J. Caire, 1904, photographic print mounted on cardboard; 21.8 x 29.3 cm, mount 28 x 29 cm, State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection, H141276.

matter. The great difficulty at these reserves is to manage the distribution of payment for labour. At present, or until lately, all the proceeds went to a common stock. Of course, this makes all lazy.

Close by the reserve flowed the River Yarra, in which the Platypus abounds, the "Water mole," as it is called here, or the "Duck-bill" (*Ornithorynchus paradoxus*). I offered the men three half-crowns for one recently shot. Some of the Blacks thought they might try and get one; but although one half-crown is the usual price, no one thought of leaving cricket or his looking on at the game: nor, though I offered a good price for a boomerang, did any one care to fetch one from the village.

Down by the river bank I found a Black camped by a fire, with three women, and a lot of mongrel curs. He was just going to fish. He had a gun, and was much excited at the notion of "three half-a-crown" for a Platypus. We crept along the bank of the river, the Black first, then I, then my companion. The Black went stealthily along, with his head stretched forward, and every muscle tense, stepping with the utmost care, so as not to rustle a twig or break a stick under foot, and assuming a peculiarly wild animal appearance, such somewhat as I had noticed in a Tamil guide of mine in Ceylon when we were hunting for peacocks and deer. Once he started back, as a snake made off through the bushes.

It was all to no purpose. I was doomed not to see a living Platypus or even a Kangaroo in Australia. I saw only the footprints of the Platypus (like those of a duck), which the Black pointed out to me, in a regularly beaten track, made by the animals from one pond to another. The Black said

that he was certain the Platypus did not lay eggs, and that he had several times seen the young ones, and his description of them agreed with what I knew from Dr. Bennett's researches on the subject.

Next day, as I was going down in the coach, I received two specimens of the Platypus, shot by this man.[58] Unfortunately, the jolting and heat of the coach, on the journey down to the coast, rather spoilt them for microscopical examination, for which I had wished to procure them. I wished especially to examine the eyes, to see if the retina contains brightly pigmented bodies, as in the case of reptiles and birds. I could not find any trace of them; but possibly, if the tissues had been fresher, I should have met with them, for Hoffman has discovered their existence in marsupials.

Appendix 3.3 Désiré Charnay's (1881) Report of His 1878 Visit to Coranderrk

D. Charnay (1881) 'Rapports sur une mission dans L'ile de Java et en Australie', Archives des Missions scientifiques et litteraires, 7 (1881): 21–38. [59]

Mister Minister,
There is a well-known law today which applies to all the kingdoms and against which neither religion nor philosophy will ever prevail: an inferior race will become extinguished before a superior race. We French may well revolt against this law of strength, this flatters our instincts more than our intelligence, but the history of our colonies shows that we are the victims of our philanthropy. I am in one of those places where this terrible law takes effect. I see death striking in all its forms the unfortunate Australian: drunkenness, phthisis, debauchery. The Tasmanian aborigine has long disappeared and his Victorian counterpart will soon follow.

I have the honour of writing to you from one of these stations where the last aborigines of the province of Victoria live and become extinct, under the protection of the government. There are six stations: Corandarck [Coranderrk], Lake Wellington, Lake Tyers, Lake Coudah [Condah], Framlingham and Lake Hindmarch [Hindmarsh]. For the natives who have neither future nor purpose in life and whose fathers were deprived and murdered by the new race, these shelters are nothing but a belated compensation.

The Australian [Aboriginal] finds the necessities of life on these stations: an established house, rations of rice, flour, sugar, tea, arrowroot, tobacco etc., everything except meat, which becomes his motivation to work; the only means of making him work. But what work can you expect from him six hours at the most, employed in the cultivation of hops, and the grazing of animals, often interrupted by long meals and interminable chats. I saw them at work. The Australians [Aboriginals] have a school and a church in their villages. The school, the teacher tells me, produces remarkable results, considering the history of the race. The children write, count, sing and show remarkable aptitude. These things are done only from memory, because no one knows his age or tells the time. They have no notion of time, as I discovered when I asked one of them, a boarder at the station for many years, when the harvest was. Although the plants were barely at the shoo-

58 Massola's (1975: 69) excerpt ends here.
59 Literally the title translates as 'Reports on a mission to the island of Java and Australia'.

ting stage, my man, after much thought answered; "In a month's time at Christmas." (But the harvest was in April in four months' time).

I visited the school, where the children had beautiful handwriting, and I was present during the performance of certain arithmetical operations, the latter achieved after a lot of hard work. They spell, they read, they sing, but I noticed that, out of 34 students, half could be taken for whites, one quarter were half-caste, and I saw only five or six pure blacks. The church achieved lesser results, for apart from the singing accompanied by the organ, about which the natives were enthusiastic, the sermons or religious exhortations left them cold, and 1 noticed them laughing, sleeping or making faces.

Now what is the aim of this education? They haven't been able to instil in them a love of work, and hunger alone forces an axe or a shovel into their hands. Morality is a word not yet understood by them. A woman will give herself for a glass of whiskey, and the minister [Strickland] showed me families with six children who had different fathers; it is true that these things can also be noticed elsewhere. While young they are angels, but just as with young gorillas in captivity, savage instincts return at puberty. The child lies, steals and commits all sorts of horrors without any feeling of guilt.

The Australian, as the Malagasy whom I once saw, easily accepts the laws of the State or the ceremonies of the Church, provided they are accompanied by a present. For example, the West Australians, guided by a Spanish bishop, came each month to christen their children. But why should we be so amazed? They have barely emerged from the bush, where they lived without laws and constraints; some superstitions, a few traditions about marriage and the relationship between tribes were their only social state, and we would wish to impose a yoke upon them, which despite thousands of years of training we still find hard to bear ourselves. What confusion we would bring to their minds, what bewilderment in their organisations and in their habits, which hereditary instincts inevitably bring back! Also what contrasts. What voids in their heads. The director tells me about a child chosen and brought up by him with fatherly love; obedient, sweet, industrious, and loved by all, who at the age of fourteen, changed into the worst kind of creature. The situation became so intolerable that they had to get rid of the prodigy. He was banished and on the ship which was taking him away, at the moment of leaving the one who had loved him so much, moral influence took over for a moment: in front of the astonished passengers and the crew, the child fell to the ground in front of his protector and in a speech which brought tears to the eyes of those present, asked for his last blessing. Several days later he was running in the woods.

The Headmistress showed the letter of a highly educated young girl, also a prodigy, who was writing to a friend about Christmas, and the letter did not lack either sentiment or poetry. However it contained, without transition, the news about the cat's new litter; Christ's resurrection; then that dad was going shearing north for two months, and that mum was remarried. You will see that nothing follows, that all is confused; the church, the school and the bush. As to the half-castes, everyone agrees, they have collected the vices of both races, without any of their good qualities. In addition to their rations, the blacks receive clothing materials too. Now they are dressed like Europeans, but they never change their shirts or their socks, and the poor devils emit revolting body odour, and I am the one to know all about it since I take their measurements. Their wives, females yesterday, lubras today they want hats with feathers and dresses with trains. Corandarck [sic] is the most important station of the six I have mentioned before: there are 134 individuals, children and only one old man; barely 30 are pure blood, in a few years there will be nothing but half-castes. I took some measurements, which was not easy despite

the government's order. The natives pretended to be prudish to obtain better rewards, so I gave them 2 shillings. As far as the wives were concerned this was a waste of time, their gentlemen husbands (strange when one remembers their customs) were ferociously jealous. I took some samples of types, front view and in profile, and I also found weapons, although they were very rare; the natives no longer manufacture them since they don't need them anymore. My photos, landscapes of the Australian alps and types of the native race are generally very good. But I have all the difficulty in the world in keeping the collodion on the plates, as it slides and falls out. I did not use talcum for cleaning purposes, so where does it come from? Ask Mr. Davanne.[60]

On the second day of operations the blacks announced that from now on it would be 5 shillings per person, and since I needed them, I had to accept their conditions. Then it became 10 shillings, then 20 and finally I sent them to the devil. [61]

Their weapons are generally poorly finished, and in addition roughly made; no one could compare them with those of New Guinea and the islands of Polynesia. The Australian doesn't know either bow or arrows, but he has the boomerang. I saw it thrown and it is a marvel. The weapon thrown 100 metres by one of them returned to the hand of the sender. The boomerang, I think, represents an eucalypt leaf and this idea crossed my mind from the first day when I saw a falling leaf swirling in the wind. Is there any relationship between the two objects? I think so, because everything in a man is only imitations of nature, his language is only onomatopoeia, his inventions are only imitations or interpretations of what he sees, everywhere he copies nature and draws his inspiration from it. The New Caledonian imitated the ant, in the constructions of their huts, and the Arabs have taken from the open watermelon the models for their pendants and their stalactites. Concerning the belief that the boomerang is supposed to be found also in India and Egypt this is false according to B. Smyth, who has lately published a magnificent volume on Australian natives.

To sum up, my findings here will be a lot richer than I had hoped, for I will send to you in 8 days and by boat, to save on shipping, five or six cases of minerals, wood, ornaments, negatives (photos) of birds and various weapons. For the spears and the weapons for throwing which are too long to be packaged, I will wait until I have a large number which I will bring with me and give you upon my arrival otherwise they would arrive in pieces. I have also visited the vineyards, some of them are marvellous. I will write a special report on it.

Yours sincerely,
D.CHARNAY

I will leave for Sydney in 15 days, as soon as I finish packing

60 Davis (1981) believes this is a reference to Alphonse Davanne, an amateur photographer who laid the basis for our knowledge of the chemical changes during the photographic copying process using silver chloride. He was a founder of the French Photographic Society.

61 Davis (1981) translates these two paragraphs as follows: 'My negatives of landscapes in the Australian Alps and of types are generally good, but I had enormous difficulty keeping the collodion on the plates: it slips and escapes. I have not yet used the talcum for scouring. How does this work? Notify M. Davanne. In my second day of work, the natives announced to me that henceforth five shillings per person would be required for posing. As I had need of them, I accepted the conditions. Then the fee was raised to ten, and next twenty shillings, so that I soon sent them to the devil'.

Appendix 3.4 Désiré Charnay's (1880) Account of His November 1878 Visit to Coranderrk

SIX MONTHS IN AUSTRALIA

[Page 64]
We return to Melbourne to make our way towards Coranderrk.

The question of blacks in Australia was that which mattered most to me and which I wished best to study. It was, moreover, the most serious side of my mission; customs, standards, skulls, measurements, photographs, I had to consolidate all which would relate to this subject.

But the blacks, in the colony of Victoria, have become very rare; they do not exist more than by exception in the natural state, and, to safeguard the rest of the existing tribes, the State gathered them together in communities called stations in the different parts of the colony.

There are six stations: Ramayuck [sic], lake Tyers, Framlingham, lake Condah, lake Hindmarsh and Coranderrk, which contain between all almost five hundred individuals.

I had received letters of recommendation for the director of the Coranderrk station; it is the closest to Melbourne: it is fifty kilometres away from it. I had also received an invitation from a planter who wished to show me his Saint-Hubert vineyards, situated on the same route to Coranderrk and distant only by a few miles. That was doubly attractive.

Désiré CHARNAY

(To be continued in the next instalment)

[Page 68]
X

Coranderrk. – The colony of natives. – The director and his family. – Instincts of the blacks. – The school and the church. – Anecdotes

The distance from Saint-Hubert to Coranderrk is between eleven to twelve kilometres on uneven road. *Gum tree* on *Gum tree*, it is always the Eucalyptus, but more robust, more elegant and more spaced out. The forest takes on aspects of an English park; the pathway, lined with small shrubs with white flowers in umbels, has airs of spring which charm me; the country is beautiful.

I arrive at the Yarra, which one crosses on a lovely bridge, and, taking a right through the woods, I come upon a village of rather sad appearance, composed of around thirty huts and a hops store with a high roof: it is Coranderrk.

The residence of the director, the reverend P. Strickland, is situated at the end of the village and on the edge of a mountain stream; I am received there with open arms, and large arms, I assure you, because he is a man of six feet, a benign figure. He presents me to his partner, almost as tall as him, and to his six daughters no less tall

and one of whom is well the most beautiful person that I have seen in my life. This is a family of giants.

The director's house is a shack which falls about in ruin; the place, wet in summer, cold in winter, is unhealthy; one needs a true devotion to come to this sad place, to isolate oneself from the world and work on the impossible regeneration of an ungrateful race who will never be pleased you are there.

My arrival must bring a large disruption to this already confined residence: however it is while smiling that they move in haste, to deliver to me, the room of two young girls who are going to go sleep in the same bed.

Coranderrk is the most important of the stations that I have spoken of above: one counts a hundred and thirty-four individuals there, men, women and children. There is only one old man, something rare in this race that is going: indeed they die young and will soon only leave a memory by the crossing.

Of these hundred and thirty-four individuals, thirty are hardly of pure race, and in a few years only a mixed race will remain. Didn't the last of the Tasmanians disappear?

Here like in the other stations, the black is [Page 69] subjected to this law which applies to all kingdoms and against which, in the present conditions, philanthropy can never triumph. This pitiless law does not know the extenuating circumstances, and as soon as they live in the vicinity of the whites, whether free in the woods or grouped into villages under their protection, death in all its forms, slow or rapid, intoxication, phthisis, debauchery, attacks these unfortunate savages.

In a free state, the life of theirs is impossible when the forest is no longer a hunting ground; they can remain there only thanks to the charity of the farmer that they encounter; and in the stations where they are gathered, they remind me of these aurochs that became extinct in the forests of Lithuania, despite all the care that one can take.

Without practical usefulness as without future, these refuges are only one type of late compensation granted to the natives whose ancestors have been dispossessed by the new race.

The Australian finds in these stations the necessities of life: a ready made house, clothing, blankets, rations composed of rice, flour, tea, sugar, honey and tobacco. One gives him everything, except for meat which becomes bait for work, because one cannot oblige him to work. And what work does one require from him?

Six hours at the most each day, employed in the culturing of hops and the guarding of cattle: work often interrupted by long rests and interminable chats. For this work, when he can compel himself there, he is paid twenty-five francs each day. Meat costs him twenty cents a pound, one sees that he would easily be able to supply his family with it. But he does not even accept it; he prefers to fish with a line or to wander in the woods, his rifle on the back.

No, he could not force himself to regular work; a yoke, no matter how light, is unbearable for him, and the instincts that one endeavours to extinguish will always awaken.

Besides the field of hops, where one establishes the black to work, the village of Coranderrk possesses a school and a church to educate him and moralise him. The school, the principal tells me, produces remarkable results, considering the past of the race. The children write, calculate, sing and demonstrate great ability. I visited this school and one shows me beautiful pages of writing; I attend to the solutions of certain calculations, additions and multiplications, successful after a long effort. But I ask a student what his age is and he cannot tell me. I ask a small intelligent appearing girl, who knows how to read, write and calculate, what the time is on my watch, she is not able to tell me. There is even better: I question a man, an old boarder from the station and devoted to the culturing of hops for a long time:

"Tomy, when is the harvest?

– The plant is hardly coming out of the ground, the time must be far away."

My man reflects, scratches his head....

"Oh! he says, in many days."

Then he hesitates once more and responds: "In many days, in a month." And the harvest is reaped in four months.

Here is thus a man in whom one could not inculcate the notion of time.

Religion seems to have even less of an impact than school. They attend church regularly; but, except for song accompanied by the organ, of which they are enthusiastic, the sermon of the reverend leaves them more than cold, and I catch sight of them during this part of the service laughing, sleeping or making fine funny monkey faces.

[Page 70] Now what is the purpose of this bizarre education? One could not give them a love of work, which all the savages of the world scorn, only hunger puts the pickaxe or the axe in their hand.

Morality is a meaningless word for them; they are all legitimately married, but it is a contract of which they know neither the duties nor the obligations, and the director shows me families of six children all belonging to different fathers: it is true that these things can be observed elsewhere.

As for certain proprieties that one endeavours to teach him, the native does not have the slightest idea, no more of the difference in ranks than of the relative worth of people. The idea of equality is always persistent in the community; it is absolute, and they even almost consider us, us other whites, as their inferiors.

One of them, whom Mister Strickland reproached on his laziness, engaging him to return to the hops field to work there, replied:

"And yourself, why do you not work?"

– But I work, the director told him; don't you see that I am in charge of you morning until night; that I think about your wellbeing and that I take care of your education and the development of your moral faculties?

– Lovely work! delivered the black; oh! I could do well with as much; give me your place and take mine."

Another more or less responded the same way to the superintendent who was doing the rounds in the village.

"You want me to work, he told him, but you are big and fat and well paid and you don't do anything; no, I will not work. I will hunt." And he went.

The Australians are angels whilst young, and like the small captive gorilla, the wild instincts only return to them in puberty: the child then transforms into an imp; he lies, steals and commits all kinds of villainies without having a conscience.

The Australian black readily accepts, like the Madagascan, the law of the State and the ceremonies of the church, on condition however that this submission brings back something to him. Such were these western Australians, managed by a Spanish bishop, who each month would come to baptise their children because each time they would receive a portion of rice. Here is their faith! And what is astonishing about this? They just leave the bush that they traversed only yesterday freely and without laws; some coarse superstitions, some traditions about marriages and the relationships between tribes solely guiding their social state; and how to impose a yoke on them that, despite thousands of years of training, we still find too heavy!

What disorders do you not introduce in these heads? What disorder in their organisation? What upheavals in their practices that inevitably brings back hereditary instincts! Also, what contrasts! What empty compartments of their brains and what incomplete, incoherent beings you undertake to form!

The principal shows me the letter of a young, *highly educated* girl, one of the best pupils the school has produced, a true prodigy. She writes to a friend about Christmas, and the letter, very well written, lacks neither feeling nor poetry. She talks of sweet Jesus, and seamlessly on to the female cat that gave birth to its young. Christ returns; then it is papa who goes to shear ewes in the north: his absence will last two months, and mother is remarried.

You see that nothing is connected in this head, that everything gets mixed up in there: school, church and the bush.

In addition to the rations, the colony gives fabrics to the blacks to dress themselves. The women sew them themselves or pay the way. Here they are thus dressed like the european; they have bottoms and shirts, but they only change them when they become tattered.

These unfortunates infect, and I learnt something of it when I was obliged to manipulate them from top to bottom for my measurements.

Certain parts of clothing are useless to them: shoes and bottoms for example. It would be healthier for the men to go barefoot; a shirt and jacket are harmful even, because, in contrast to their former practices, where when naked they faced the rain without danger because it slid off their always oily skin, today they face the rain clothed, and remain wet the whole day: so that they catch colds and bronchitis that quite often converts itself into consumption. I only heard that cough at Coranderrk, and consumption is truly the sickness from which they die the most.

Moreover, they live in a deplorable state of dirtiness; any notion of hygiene is unknown to them; they wash themselves little, their huts are badly kept; they leave the garden that one gives them a wasteland and randomly throw the refuse from their household around them.

As for the women, simple females again (*Gins* or *Lubras*, which is their Australian name), what a transformation! Yesterday, they ran naked, today they want feathered hats; they have artificial plaits and wear bustle dresses, and one mentioned who had an account at the couturier, the house of Worth, in the nearby forest. Is this not sad and funny at the same time?

The kinds of aborigines which we present here are very wild (savages), but savages in effort of transformation. The healthy are large and fat; they lead a monastic life; several are getting a belly, and one will find a big difference between these and the natives which we will see in the north still living a life in the woods.

[Page 71]

XI

The blacks at Coranderrk. – Types. – Measurements. – Australian weapons. – The boomerang

It is quite a remarkable fact to point out to specialists, a completely new fact, about the blacks of Australia. It is that these blacks, who are very black, the colour of dark chocolate, become white in photography. To such a point that for the body, if one did not know what they are, one would take them, according to the proofs, for whites or at least for definite mulattos. It is a phenomenon to be studied. It is obvious that blue must be part of the colouring of their skin to impress the photographic plate thus: which would make out a race other than the one assumed. A thing to be noted also: the phenomenon is more noticeable in the natives from the south than the natives of the north where the mixtures with other races have been perhaps more frequent.

Figure 3.4: Coranderrk station and village. – Taylor's drawing, according to a photograph.

For the type, they have long and curly hair, sign of a mixed race; a narrow forehead, low and receding; very thick cranium and a formidable eyebrow ridge, similar to the bony ridge of the gorilla. They have deep set eyes, bloody sclera, a flat nose, huge mouth, strong and healthy teeth. They are generally missing two in the front, which they break from fifteen to eighteen years, following an ancient tradition that they do not explain. They have protrusive jaws, and their facial angle (craniometer Harmand) varies from seventy-one to seventy-five degrees; for the most part, the arms and legs are thin, the arms without accentuated biceps and the legs without calves. One finds amongst these people some magnificent men, and in our illustrations we show one of these who is a veritable Hercules; he is nearly six foot and his proportions are admirable; but these subjects are rare. Moreover, in Australia there is a mob of races which we will speak of in connection with the Queensland colony.

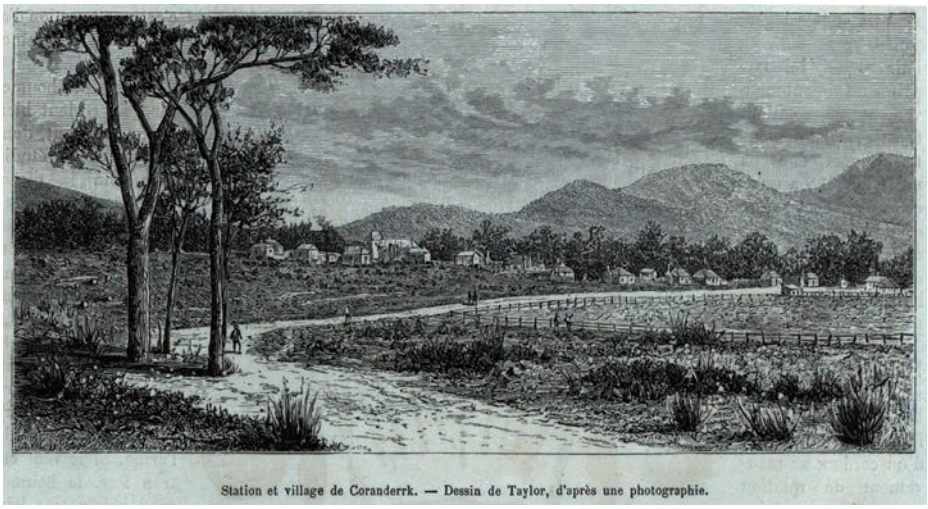

Figure 3.4: 'Station et village de Coranderrk – Dessin de Taylor, d'apres une photographie'[60] Source: Charnay (1880: 71)

The ancient inhabitants of Victoria were perhaps the richest of all the tribes in Australia in varied weaponry. They had clubs of all forms and sizes (*waddy*); wooden swords with which they punished their wives; staffs with hardened tips to search for roots; spears with smooth points, or barbed on one side, or double barbed; a long shaft with hollow head, for the fishing of eels; a lever to launch their pick; shields, then different types of boomerangs: the boomerang of war which does not return itself (the *barngeet*) and the boomerang of peace, for hunting or recreation which returns (the *wonguim*). One sees most of these weapons grouped in one of our illustrations.

Figure 3.5: Weapons and implements. – Sellier's drawing, according to objects reported by the author.

These weapons are rare today; one still finds some of the ancient weapons; the blacks of Coranderrk, like in the other stations, fabricate short stories for the collectors. I have nothing to say about these various weapons, as the illustration explains their usage, but I will speak about the boomerang.

The boomerang resembles the leaf of the eucalyptus; it has the form of it, and one can follow the various modifications from the least curved, which best reminds one of the leaf, to the most bent, which is the most distant from it.

62 Station and village Coranderrk – Drawing of Taylor after a photograph. This image was reproduced in Howard Willoughby's *Australian Pictures* (1886: 16) as 'Coranderrk Station'.

72 LE TOUR DU MONDE.

qui reproduisent le même fait? C'est au moins vraisemblable et le mouvement giratoire de la feuille m'en a tout d'abord suggéré l'idée. Je la donne pour ce qu'elle vaut.

L'homme, le plus souvent, n'invente pas : il imite, copie ou modifie. On peut croire que les Néo-Calédoniens imitent les fourmis pour la construction de leurs cases, et que les Arabes ont pris dans la pastèque ouverte le modèle de leurs pendentifs.

D'où qu'il vienne, le boumerang est un instrument des plus curieux, mais non pas aussi extraordinaire qu'on a bien voulu le dire; quand on l'examine avec soin, il paraît des plus simples.

Le boumerang est une hélice à deux branches; les extrémités ne sont pas sur le même plan, et l'on comprend tout de suite que cette hélice en bois et très légère puisse se soutenir en l'air si on lui imprime un violent mouvement de rotation. C'est ce qu'a démontré ce *jouet*, dont on usait fort il y a quelques années, alors qu'il s'agissait de la direction des ballons et du « plus lourd que l'air ». C'était une petite tige en bois munie de deux ou trois feuilles de carton disposées en branches d'hélice et à laquelle on imprimait, au moyen d'un cordon, un mouvement de rotation comme à une toupie; l'hélice se vissait dans l'air et montait avec rapidité en entraînant le petit appareil. Eh bien, c'est absolument la même chose sous une autre forme et beaucoup plus pratique. La main du sauvage remplace la ficelle pour le mouvement à donner.

Le boumerang réunit les deux mouvements de projection et de rotation. Bien lancé, il s'en va très loin de l'individu qui l'a jeté, revient tourner autour de lui et tombe presque toujours à ses pieds.

Les noirs de Coranderrk étaient assez adroits à jeter leur arme : j'établis un concours avec prime pour le vainqueur. Ils connaissaient si bien la valeur de l'argent, qu'ils accoururent en foule et que je pus les étudier à fond.

Un naturel adroit vise et atteint un but déterminé, devant, de côté ou derrière lui. J'ai vu l'un d'eux lancer son boumerang à plus de cent mètres : parvenu à la fin de sa course et la force de projection étant épuisée, l'instrument se releva en tournoyant avec une rapidité vertigineuse, prit une position horizontale de verticale qu'elle était d'abord, revint sur lui-même en décrivant une ellipse très allongée, puisqu'il déposa de cinquante mètres son point de départ; revint de nouveau, toujours tournoyant, en produisant un bruit violent; décrivit des cercles concentriques autour de celui qui l'avait lancé et finit par lui tomber dans la main. L'instrument avait parcouru un trajet de plus de trois cents mètres pour revenir exactement à son point de départ. N'était-ce pas merveilleux?

Mais le merveilleux cesse quand on connaît sa raison d'être : c'est l'histoire de tous les phénomènes qui n'ont pas été étudiés. Ici, c'est une question d'adresse et d'entraînement.

D'abord, le boumerang ne revient bien qu'avec le vent, dont l'Australien étudie avec soin la direction; car, s'il ne jette pas son arme exactement dans le vent, elle ne reviendra pas sur lui, mais ira tomber à gauche et à droite, selon que le boumerang est gaucher ou droitier, et qui tient à une légère inflexion du bout de l'arme. Si le vent est trop fort, le boumerang volera très loin en arrière et ne reviendra pas au point de départ; enfin, s'il n'y a pas de vent du tout, le boumerang, après avoir épuisé sa force de projection, s'enlèvera en tournoyant sur lui-même et décrira des cercles presque concentriques, en descendant au fur et à mesure que s'éteindra sa force de rotation.

Il y a donc deux forces mises en jeu pour lancer le boumerang : la force de projection, et la force de rotation, qui ne se produit bien que lorsque la première est épuisée.

On a prétendu que l'Australien seul pouvait lancer le boumerang : cela n'est pas exact, car avec un peu d'exercice et un bon instrument chacun peut le lancer assez bien pour qu'il revienne, et le comprendre assez vite pour en expliquer la théorie et la pratique.

Armes et ustensiles. — Dessin de Sellier, d'après les objets rapportés par l'auteur.

Figure 3.5: 'Armes et ustensiles – Dessin de Sellier, d'apres les objects rapportes par l'auteur'.[61] Source: Charnay (1880: 72).

Is there a connection, unspecified between the two objects? Did not the wind carrying the leaf and giving it a singular boost to and fro induce the savage to make an instrument [Page 72] which would reproduce this occurrence? It is at least plausible and the gyrating movement of the leaf put forward the idea first of all. I give it for what it is worth.

The man, most often, does not invent: he imitates, copies or modifies. One can believe that the New Caledonians imitated ants for the construction of their huts, and that the Arabs took up the open watermelon as a model for their pendants.

Wherever it comes from, the boomerang is an instrument most curious, but not as extraordinary as one so wanted to say; when one examines it carefully, it appears simpler.

63 Arms and utensils – Drawing of the objects by Sellier, after reports by the author. Reproduced in Massola (1975 plate opposite p. 72)

The boomerang is a propeller with two arms; the ends are not on the same plane, and one understands at once that this wooden and very light propeller can sustain itself in the air if one gives it a driving rotation.

It is what a certain toy, which was used heavily some years back, demonstrated when it was about the direction of balloons and of "heavier than air". The toy was a small wooden rod equipped with two or three cardboard sheets arranged as propellers and to which one gave, by means of a cord, a rotating movement as to a spinning top; the propeller turned itself in the air and quickly rose swinging the small device away. Well, the boomerang is exactly the same thing in another form and much more practical. The hand of the savage replaces the cord to produce movement.

The boomerang combines the two movements of projection and rotation. Launched well, it goes very far away from the individual who threw it, returns turning about him and falls almost always at his feet.

The blacks at Coranderrk were rather skilful at throwing their weapon: I establish a contest with a prize for the winner. They knew the value of money very well, that they ran up a crowd and I could study them thoroughly.

A skilled native aims and achieves a determined target, in front of, next to or behind him. I saw one of them throw their boomerang more than a hundred metres: reaching the end of its course and the force of projection being exhausted, the instrument lifted itself spinning with a dizzying speed, took a horizontal position to the vertical position it first had, returned itself following a very elongated ellipse, since it exceeded its starting point by fifty metres; returned again, always spinning, producing a fierce noise; followed concentric circles around the one who had thrown it and finishes by falling into his hand. The instrument had covered a distance of more than three hundred metres to return exactly to its starting point. Was this not marvellous?

But the marvellous ceases when one knows its reason for being: it is the story of all phenomena that have not been studied. Here, it is a question of skill and training.

Initially, the boomerang returns well only with the wind, the direction of which the Australian studies with care; because, if he does not throw his weapon directly into the wind, it will not return to him, but will come down on the left or the right, depending on whether the boomerang is left-handed or right-handed, which is a result of a slight curve at the tip of the arm. If the wind is too strong, the boomerang will fly very far behind and will not return to its starting point; finally, if there is no wind at all, the boomerang, after having exhausted its force of projection, will carry itself spinning and will follow almost concentric circles, while descending gradually as its spinning strength is depleted.

There are therefore two forces put into play for throwing the boomerang: the force of projection, and the rotational force, which only occurs properly when the first is exhausted.

It has been claimed that only the Australian could throw the boomerang: this is not accurate, because with a bit of practice and a good instrument each person can

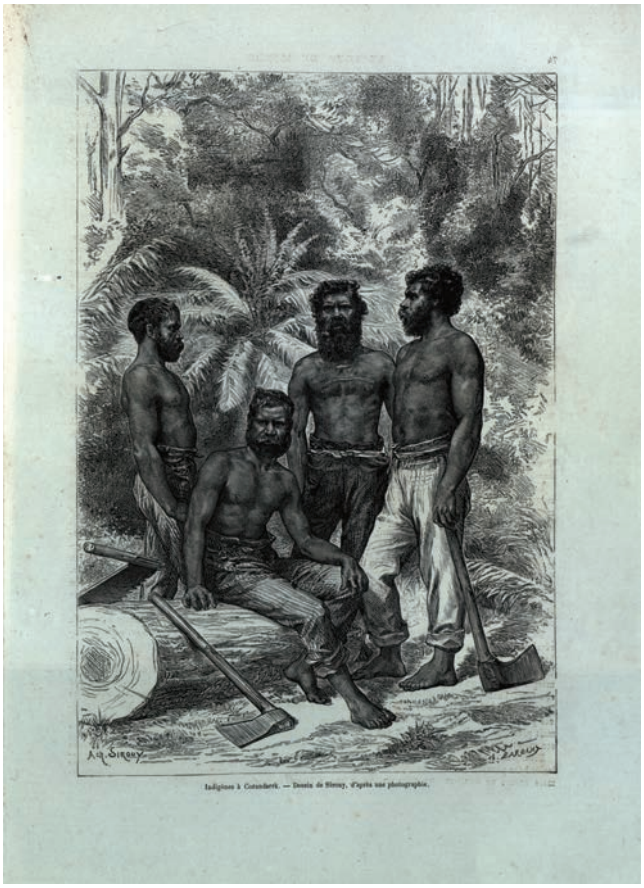

Figure 3.6: 'Indigenes a Coranderrk – Dessin de Sirouy, d'apres une photographie'.[62] Source: Charnay (1880: 73).

throw it well enough for it to return, and understand it quite quickly to explain the theory and the practice.

[Page 73] [Full page image] 'Indigenes a Coranderrk – Dessin de Sirouy, d'apres une photographie'. [See Figure 3.4]

[Pages 74–76] **XII Ancient Australian. – Lack of artistic instincts of the Australian. – General considerations. His language. – Reasons for their decrease.**[65]

64 Indigenes at Coranderrk – Drawing by Sirouy, after a photograph. Reproduced in Willoughby 1886: 36 as 'semi-civilised Victorian Aborigines'.

65 This section not translated.

[Page 76]

XIII

Departure from Coranderrk. – Healesville. – Fernshaw. Blackspur. Big Ben.

We will leave the aborigines there to find them in the north, with other practices, other manners; and we will then tell their fables and their unique legends.

I had spent four days of an existence so quiet and so secluded at Coranderrk that it was monastic. This large and lovely family, whose every member lavished devotion on ungrateful beings, reminded me of a religious community and I envied the peaceful fate of my hosts. But the last hours brought the last confidences. I learnt then that not everything was rosy in the business of managing people. Because, in addition to the problems attached to the profession, one told me of the rebellions of the flock, the poor remuneration awarded to a tiring task; the thousand worries caused by a dismissed administrator and the ambitious jealousies of the school principal who sought to supplant his superior; I saw the discord agitating his hair of serpents, the internal war to reign over this theatre of puppets as on the great stage of the universe, and I understood better still that happiness was not of this world.

The surrounds of Coranderrk, some miles around it, are charming: there are only mountains with what the English call gullies, small valleys very narrow, deep ravines lined with ferns and which are one of the rare beauties of Australia.

4 International Dignitaries and Their Impressions of Coranderrk

Coranderrk was the site of many visits from international dignitaries, including royalty, and members of the political elite. This chapter looks at 14 of these visitors as diverse as media baron Lord Northcliffe to acclaimed English historian James Froude. Unfortunately we do not have details of the nature of every visit – in some cases we just have a matter-of-fact newspaper account that a visit took place. In other cases we have both newspaper accounts and published accounts from the dignitary. Where we have some detail we are able to reconstruct the performances the Coranderrk residents arranged for the visitors. Typically, these performances included boomerang throwing, spear throwing, and fire making. On some occasions the visitors were given gifts of baskets and clubs. On one very special occasion the visiting party was given a specially-made basket and some nicely carved emu eggs as gifts for the Queen. When the Victorian Governor Lord Brassey visited Coranderrk in late 1897, William Barak presented him with a picture of a corroboree painted in black on yellow on a slab of wood about 3 ft long by 2 ft high. When the new Anglican Bishop of Melbourne visited in October 1904 the Coranderrk people performed a corroboree with singing. In June 1910, artist Hugh Fisher of the Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office visited Coranderrk to collect information and photographs and make paintings to be used in the preparation of educational lectures on Australia. At Coranderrk Fisher made a sketch of Anthony Anderson. Fisher's personal diary of his visit is published here for the first time. In 1912 the Governor General Lord Denman visited Healesville as part of a special planting ceremony of oaks especially sent from the Queen. The Coranderrk residents participated in the celebrations, and other than boomerang throwing and fire lighting they presented Lord Denman with an ornamental boomerang with gold inscription plate, and Lady Denman with a native basket.

4.1 Sir William Henry Gregory, Former Governor of Ceylon, February 1877

One of the first international dignitaries to take 'a peep' at Coranderrk was Sir William Henry Gregory (1817–1892), an Anglo-Irish writer and politician. The South Australian *Register*, (22/2/1877) described him as 'an archaeologist of acknowledged reputation'. He was appointed Governor of Ceylon in 1872. He resigned in 1877 and visited Australia *en route* to England. The Hobart *Mercury* (8/1/1877) announced his intention to visit NSW Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, in Sydney, and stated that he would probably be 'taking a peep in passing at the other Australian colonies'.[66] *The Argus* (26/2/1877) reported that Sir William made an overnight visit to the Yarra Ranges, visiting Steav-

enson Falls and Marysville, and 'on the way back made a short stay at the Aboriginal station, Coranderrk, where the natives were busily engaged in hop picking'.[67] He returned to Melbourne tired but much pleased with his excursion.

4.2 James Anthony Froude, February 1885

James Anthony Froude (1818–1894), an English historian and biographer, visited Australia from January to February 1885 (see Figure 4.1). He spent three weeks in Victoria and travelled with his son Ashley Anthony Froude (1863–1949) and William Elphinstone (1828–1893), 15th Lord Elphinstone, who kept a portfolio of sketches, which Froude used when he published *Oceana*, his account of his travels. In the preface to this work, Froude (1886: iii) explained that the 'object of my voyage was not only to see the Colonies themselves, but to hear the views of all classes of people there on the subject in which I was principally interested'. He spent four weeks in Victoria which included a stay at Mt. Macedon and tours of the Ballarat and Bendigo gold districts. *The Argus* (21/1/1885) considered he 'is the most eminent man of letters that has ever visited our shores'. Blainey (1985: v) agreed: 'He was probably the most famous intellectual to come to Britain's southern colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century'.

In early February 1885, the Governor of Victoria Sir Henry Loch accompanied Froude, his party, and Sir George Verdon on a tour of the Healesville district. They visited Coranderrk 'where the Blacks gave the visitors a treat in some boomerang throwing (*Evelyn Observer and South and East Bourke Record*, 13/2/1885)'.[68] *The Australasian* (7/2/1885) reported on the Coranderrk visit:

> While sojourning in the Upper Yarra district His Excellency, with Lord Elphinstone and Mr. Froude, the historian, was the guest of Mr. H. de Castella, at St Hubert's vineyard. On Wednesday the party were driven through Healesville and Fernshaw to the Black Spur in a special coach ... On the return journey they called at Coranderrk, and saw an exhibition of boomerang-throwing by the blacks.

Froude (1886: 128) alluded to the visit in *Oceana*. Froude was visiting de Castella's St Hubert vineyards near Healesville:

> On the way home we turned aside to see a native settlement – a native school, &c. – very hopeless, but the best that could be done for a dying race. The poor creatures were clothed, but not in their right minds, if minds they had ever possessed. The faces of the children were hardly supe-

66 Presumably he also visited the memorial in Melbourne to his cousin, Robert O'Hara Burke (*Freeman's Journal*, 26/3/1892).

67 Hugh Halliday was in charge of Coranderrk in February 1877.

68 William Goodall was superintendent of Coranderrk at this time.

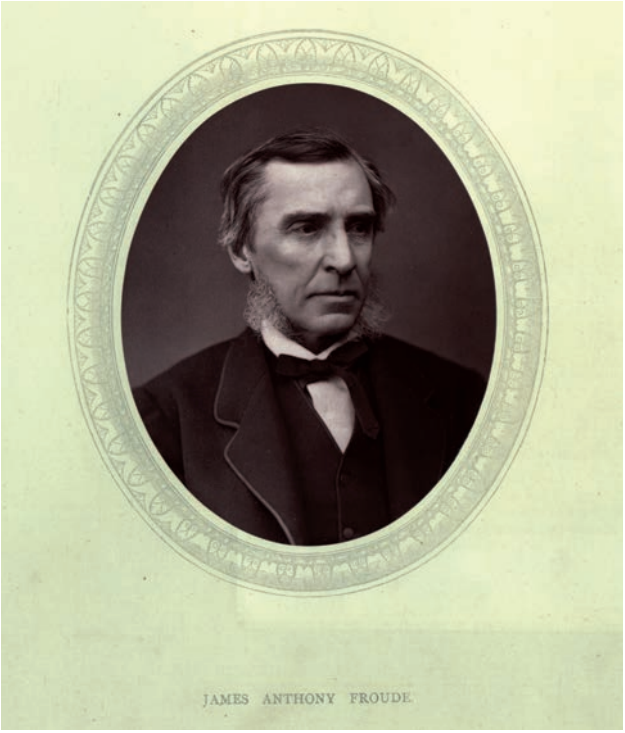

Figure 4.1: James Anthony Froude (Author's picture collection).

> rior to those of apes, and showed less life and vigour. The men threw boomerangs and lances for us, but could not do it well. The manliness of the wild state had gone out of them, and nothing had come in its place or could come. One old fellow had been a chief in the district when Mr Castella first came to settle there. It was pathetic to see the affection which they still felt for each other in their changed relations.

Blainey's (1985: 67) annotation of this passage in his abridged edition is that 'Froude's harsh, rather Darwinian, comment was typical of the era. The old Aboriginal whom Hubert de Castella greeted warmly was almost certainly William Barak (1824–1903), born before the British arrived'. Froude's visit to Coranderrk was his only encounter with Australian Indigenous people. Later in New Zealand in an entry on the Maori he would write: 'The Maori, like every other aboriginal people with whom we have come in contact, learn our vices faster than our virtues. They have been ruined physically, they have been demoralised in character, by drink' (Froude, 1886: 223) – yet although he considered them 'a sad, shameful, and miserable spectacle' at Rotorua, they were 'the noblest of the savage races with whom we have ever been brought in contact' (Froude, 1886: 233). 'Those only will survive who can domesticate themselves into servants of the modern forms of social development. ... The negro submits to the

conditions, becomes useful, and rises to a higher level. The Red Indian and the Maori pine away as in a cage, sink first into apathy and moral degradation, and then vanish' (Froude 1886: 257–8).

Froude's view of non-Anglo-Saxon races was that they were inferior and infantile. In contrast Anglo-Saxons 'possessed superior physical and moral virtue and Froude never doubted their right to subjugate other peoples; in fact, the subjugation of other races became something of an obligation' (Thompson, 1987: 210). British rule for subject races was for their own good, and if necessary should be imposed through military force – but Froude did not condone genocide. Thompson (1987: 4) stresses that a nuanced understanding of Froude's racial chauvinism is necessary, for he never ruled out the possibility that given the time and opportunity other races might attain a moral and intellectual level equal to the Anglo-Saxon – suggesting the inherent equality of races rather than their inherent inferiority.

Froude has largely been ignored in the historiography of Coranderrk. John Stanley James, aka *The Vagabond*, when discussing Healesville, is one of the very few who has referred to his visit (*The Australasian*, 30/5/1885).

4.3 The Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, Viscount Tarbat, November 1886

The Marquis and Marchioness of Stafford, and Viscount Tarbat visited Coranderrk on 30 November 1886.[69] The Marquis of Stafford (Cromartie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower) (20/7/1851–27/6/1913), was a London-born Peer and politician, educated at Eton.[70] His spouse, the Marchioness of Stafford (Lady Millicent Fanny St Clair-Erskine) (20/10/1867 – 20/8/1955) (they married on 20/10/1884 when Lady Erskine was 17 years of age) was a society hostess, social reformer, author, journalist, and playwright and often used the pseudonym 'Erskine Gower' (*Freeman's Journal*, 14/12/1901) (see Figure 4.2). Viscount Tarbat (Francis Mackenzie Sutherland-Leveson-Gower) (3/8/1852–24/11/1893), the Second Earl of Cromartie, was the younger brother of the Marquis of Stafford. They arrived in Melbourne on 20 November and were guests of Victorian Governor Henry Brougham Loch. They were taken on excursions to Mt Macedon, Marysville, Fernshaw, and Healesville where they visited Coranderrk. *The Argus* (29/11/1886) announced their proposed visit to Healesville.

Marchioness Stafford (Millicent Stafford) published an account of her travels in 1889 entitled *How I spent my Twentieth Year Being a Short Record of a Tour Round the World 1886–87*. In the preface she explained that her 'notes were hastily jotted down as we journeyed from place to place, I had no intention whatever that they should

69 This was during Joseph Shaw's superintendence of Coranderrk.

70 The Fourth Duke of Sutherland was known as the Marquis of Stafford between 1861 and 1892.

Figure 4.2: The Marchioness of Stafford (Source: The Graphic, 16/7/1892, p. 72).

be read by any but my immediate relations and friends. I have, however, complied with their wish that I should offer this journal to public criticism'. She noted 'Those who have travelled will know how hard it is to find time for writing and sketching, and how difficult to form opinions on sights and events that, like a constantly changing kaleidoscope, continually pass before one, leaving but a faint impression'. She wrote the following concerning her visit to Coranderrk on 30 November 1886. Stafford expressed some disappointment that the Aboriginal residents were dressed like Europeans – she had expected them to be dressed more exotically. She noticed that in terms of their receptivity that they 'seemed pleased to be visited'.

> After passing Healesville we turned off to a native settlement which was most interesting. About ninety aborigines and half-castes are settled on a tract of land, with a European and Christian superintendent and schoolmaster. The school was full of little dusky children learning the three R's; they were very well-mannered. All speak English, and rather to my disappointment were dressed in jackets and trousers like anybody else! The women are dreadfully ugly, but most pea-

> ceable and docile, and seemed pleased to be visited. The men threw boomerangs for us, and one of the old chiefs ignited a fire by friction, rubbing two pieces of wood together and setting light to the inner bark of the gum-tree, which burns like tow.[71] Mr Shaw, the superintendent, gave us a basket and some clubs made by the natives, and as we drove away three hearty English cheers rang through the air, partly, I am afraid, for the lollipops and tobacco we left behind! (Stafford, 1889: 32–33).

As far as can be gleaned from Stafford's account and newspaper reports, this visit to Coranderrk was the only encounter the party had with Aboriginal people in Australia.

The Aboriginal skill at fire-making, along with boomerang and spear throwing, and basket making, was a traditional skill that tourists to Coranderrk found particularly interesting. Ethel Shaw has discussed the practice in some detail:

> Fire-making required both skill and strength to produce it quickly. At Coranderrk the natives used a soft white wood with a pith in the centre. This they called "doitborke," meaning "fire." They took a piece of wood about two feet long and 2½ inches in diameter. This was split into two pieces, showing the pith running down the centre. A few notches were cut on the flat side of the wood. These were rounded as a socket for the rubbing-stick, and also grooved slightly to allow the "fire" to drop out on to a small bundle of dry bark placed underneath the wood. The rubbing-stick, a thin, round twig of the same shrub, was placed upright in the socket and rubbed between the palms of the hands, beginning at the top to near the bottom of the stick, exerting pressure as the hands descended. The resultant hot dust would fall on to the bark, which was then taken up and gently waved in the air, fanning the hot dust and thus igniting the bark (Shaw, 1949: 33).

4.4 Lady Brassey, June 1887

Anna (Annie) Brassey, Baroness Brassey (nee Allnutt) (7/10/1839–14/9/1887) was an English traveller and writer (see Figure 4.3). She married Sir Thomas Brassey (later first Earl Brassey) (11/2/1836 – 23/2/1918) in October 1860 and they had five children before they travelled abroad on their luxury yacht *Sunbeam*. The family's first circumnavigation of the world was in 1876–7 in the *Sunbeam*. Their last voyage was to India and Australia, undertaken from November 1886 to improve her health. She died *en route* to Mauritius on 14 September 1887 from malaria and was buried at sea. Upon the return of the *Sunbeam* to England in December 1887, Lord Brassey placed his late wife's journal and manuscript note in the hand of M.A. Broome to edit them into an account of his wife's final voyage. Lord Brassey also kept a private journal called the 'Sunbeam Papers' printed for private circulation,[72] however, they are silent on Healesville owing to the fact that only Lady Brassey made the excursion to the upper Yarra.

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71 Tow is a short or broken fibre (such as flax or hemp) that is used for yarn, twine, or stuffing.

72 The 'Sunbeam Papers' were included in volume two of *Voyages and Travels of Lord Brassey, K.C.B., D.C.L. From 1862 to 1894* (arranged and edited by Captain S. Eardley-Wilmot), 1895 Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Figure 4.3: Lady Brassey.[73]

The *Sunbeam* arrived at Melbourne on 12 June 1887. On 29 June 1887 Lady Brassey paid a visit to Healesville and Coranderrk whilst her husband sailed for Sydney for a brief visit.[74] Later, Lady Brassey joined her husband in Sydney by taking the train as far as Albury where they transferred to Lord Carrington's carriage that took them on to Sydney. Lady Brassey wrote the following account of her visits to Coranderrk – note that she misspells the station name as 'Koordal'.

> Wednesday, June 29th. ... Further on we came to Koordal [sic], a 'reserve' for the aboriginals. It has a nice house, and the land is good. The aboriginals are rapidly dying out as a pure race, and most of the younger ones are half-breeds. Even in this inclement weather it was sad to notice how little protection these wretched beings had against its severity. We passed a miserable shanty by the side of the road, scarcely to be called a hut, consisting merely of a few slabs of bark propped against a pole. In this roadside hovel two natives and their women and piccaninnies were encamped, preferring this frail shelter to the comfortable quarters provided for them at Koordal [sic]. The condition of the men of the party contrasted very unfavourably with their appearance when they presented themselves under the charge of Captain Traill, the Governor's A.D.C., at his

73 Source: http://epsilon-del-camino-del-oro-blanco.over-blog.com/pages/Les_maitres_celebres_de_carlins-1841692.html

74 Joseph Shaw was superintendent of Coranderrk at this time.

> Excellency's Jubilee levee last week. To-day they looked like the veriest tramps, and were most grateful for a bit of butterscotch for the baby and the shilling apiece which we gave them after an attempt at conversation.
>
> From Healesville we rattled merrily over an excellent road, the scenery improving every mile, till we reached the picturesque little village of Fernshaw, a tiny township on the river Watt. ... From Fernshaw up the Black Spur must be a perfectly ideal drive on a hot summer's day, and even in midwinter it was enchanting. ... Precisely at half-past two we started on our homeward journey, and with the exception of a few minutes' stay at Healesville to water the horses, and at the blacks' camp to have a little more chat with them, we did not stop anywhere on the way. Since morning the blacks had turned their huts right round, for the wind had shifted and they wanted shelter from its severity.

The Hastings Museum in Hastings, East Sussex, holds the Brassey Collection in the Dunbar Hall.[75] This collection consists of some 6,000 items of art, ethnography, archaeology and natural history donated to the museum in 1919.[76]

4.5 Lord Brassey and family, October 1897

Lord Brassey served as Victoria's final colonial governor from 1895 until 1900 (see Figure 4.4). During his appointment as Governor of Victoria he had an opportunity to visit Coranderrk in 1897, some ten years after his late wife Annie Brassey (see above) had visited the station during her last voyage on *The Sunbeam*. In the intervening decade Lord Brassey had remarried. We can only speculate as to the mixed emotions he may have experienced visiting the station with his new family knowing that his first wife had visited the station some ten years earlier without him. The governor and his family had visited Healesville in December 1895 on a private visit; but there is no indication that they called into Coranderrk (*The Australasian*, 14/12/1895). They returned on 23 October 1897 spending a weekend in Healesville. *The Argus* (26/10/1897) reported on their visit to Coranderrk. It refers to a discussion that Lord Brassey had with an 'intelligent black', William Barak, who told him how he had acquired his fire making skills:

> The Governor on Tour. Visit to Coranderrk. An Aboriginal's Present to the Queen. (By our special reporter).
> ... *en route* to St. Huberts a call was made at the Coranderrk aboriginal settlement, where the gallant little handful of surviving blacks welcomed His Excellency the Governor and Lady Brassey with exclamations of loyalty and exhibitions of boomerang-throwing. One intelligent black affirmed to Lord Brassey his belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, who had taught him how to produce fire by rubbing two pieces of stick together – a curious survival of the old

75 See http://www.hmag.org.uk/collections/durbar/collection/

76 I have not been able to confirm if the collection holds any items from Coranderrk.

Figure 4.4: Lord Brassey, c. 1895-1900, State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection Accession No. H16.

> Promothean legend, which students of comparative religion might find significant.[77] He added a naïve expression of regret, however, that the Ruler of the Universe had not taught him how make blankets. About 80 men, women, and children of varying degrees of blackness were marshalled for inspection, and displayed their accomplishments to their own intense gratification. A striking feature in this coloured population is the large proportion of half-castes and quarter-castes, the inky colour-scheme of the pure-bred black paling by infinite gradations through the varying tints of cocoa and dry biscuit until it reaches at last the interesting pallor of well-made cheese.

The *Healesville Guardian* also published an account of the visit. This account adds that the Governor was presented with a basket with carved emu eggs.

> VICE-REGAL VISIT.
> The Government House party, consisting of his Excellency Lord Brassey, Mr. Albert Brassey, M.P., the Misses Brassey, Mrs. Neville, Lord Richard Nevill, Mrs. T.K. Smythe, Mr. E. Fitzgerald and Mr. E. Lucas, arrived on Saturday night. Attended service in the Church of England on Sunday, when

77 This old black was probably the eminent elder William Barak.

> his Excellency read the lessons. Lady Brassey arrived by the Sunday train, and in the afternoon the vice-regal party went up the Black Spur to the Hermitage. Mr. Lindt, however, not expecting this honor, was not at home. On Monday morning the party drove out to Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, where they were received by the superintendant, Mr. Joseph Shaw. About 70 blacks were present, and sang the National Anthem heartily. Lady Brassey was presented with pretty native made baskets made with wild flowers and ferns, and the other ladies of the party received smaller similar presents. A specially made basket and some nicely carved emu eggs were given to Mr. Albert Brassey, M.P., with a request that he would present them on behalf of the Victorian Aboriginals to her Majesty the Queen, a task which he kindly promised to perform. An exhibition of spear and boomerang throwing was given by the male portion of the tribe, and fire lighting by rubbing two pieces of wood together was accomplished by King Barak, greatly interesting the visitors, who left substantial monetary gifts behind them when they departed (*Healesville Guardian*, 29/10/1897).

Table Talk (29/10/1897) ran the following story:

> Lord Brassey paid his first visit to the Victorian Aboriginal settlement at Coranderrk this week. There are still a few pure-blooded descendants of the once powerful Yarra tribe at the settlement, and ... how they maintain their tribal traditions and beliefs despite two generations of supposed civilization. One of the aboriginals, known as Mrs Rowan persuaded Mr. Albert Brassey, M.P., to ... of a finely woven grass basket which she had made for the Queen. Another, aboriginal, the .... "King William "—he is very wrathful ... addressed by the summer excursionists to Healesville as King Billy—presented Lord Brassey with a picture of a corroboree, painted in black and yellow on a slab of wood about 3ft. long by 2ft. high. The Australian blacks have a traditional style of art but unfortunately "King William" has allowed himself to be influenced by advertisement ... and illustrated newspapers.

The *Gippsland Times* also ran a story on the visit, however, the contributor was unable to appreciate Barak's art:

> ("Atticus" in the Leader.)
> Undeterred by his Queensland experiences, his Excellency the Governor has paid visit to an mission station; at Coranderrk Lord Brassey and his party were received by a most decorous and sober lot of blacks, and the Governor was presented with an aboriginal painting by the royal artist, King Billy, of the Yarra Yarra blacks, who once ruled this part of the country from his palatial on the apex of Eastern Hill. The artist explained that this picture (his masterpiece), represented a corroboree, but it looks more like a pattern for a crazy quilt – that is, an unusually crazy quilt. However, in the course of a few years, when the artist is dead, and the painting has become an old master, it will, no doubt, have acquired considerable historic and artistic value. I remember seeing an aboriginal drawing that looked like a child's reproduction of a section of Cleopatra's needle knocked down for £6 at a Sydney art sale, where a somewhat ambitious work by a local European artist, who has quite a magnificent opinion of himself, only fetched £4 10s (*Gippsland Times*, 1/11/1897).

4.6 Officers from the Italian warship Puglia, September 1901

In September 1901, several officers from the Italian warship *Puglia* visited Coranderrk. The warship had arrived in Melbourne on 14 August 1901 from Adelaide (*Bendigo Advertiser*, 15/8/1901). On board were 12 officers and 272 men (*The Mercury*, 17/8/1901). The cruiser was under the charge of Capitano di Fregata Andrea Canale (*The Argus*, 14/8/1901). The warship left Spezia on 4 June, and called at Port Said, Aden, and Colombo leaving for Australia on 30 July.[78] The local Healesville newspaper published a brief account of their visit to Coranderrk:

> Yesterday several officers of the Italian warship or man-of-war *Puglia*, which is at present located at Melbourne, paid a visit to Healesville. In the morning they visited the Coranderrk aboriginal station, and during the afternoon the scenery around Fernshaw was viewed by the holiday-makers (*Healesville Guardian and Yarra Glen Advertiser*, 13/9/1901).

4.7 Dr Henry Lowther Clarke, Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, September 1904

In September 1904, Dr Henry Lowther Clarke, the Anglican Bishop of Melbourne paid his first visit to Coranderrk. Dr Clarke (1850–1926) was vicar of Huddersfield when he was appointed bishop of Melbourne in February 1903. *The Argus* (10/9/1904), revealed that the 'Bishop of Melbourne has made arrangements to spend next Tuesday and Wednesday at the Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, and a visitation in the neighbourhood of Healesville'. The local Healesville paper presented a detailed account of the visit. As well as the usual performances of boomerang throwing and fire making and displays of their curiosities, the Coranderrk people performed a corroboree with singing:

> The Right Reverend the Bishop of Melbourne, accompanied by Mrs Clarke and their two sons, paid a visit to Healesville on Tuesday and Wednesday last. They were during their stay the guests of Mr and Mrs Shaw, of Coranderrk station. Tuesday was spent in looking round the black station. The natives showed many of their aboriginal curiosities, boomerang throwing, fire making and corroboree singing, to the great interest; and delight of the visitors. In the evening a short service was held in the station chapel, at which nearly all the natives were present. The Bishop addressed some kindly and brotherly words to his congregation, which, as he said, was unique, as far as his experience had gone. Wednesday, in spite of the variable and chiefly inclement weather, was spent on a trip, over the Blacks' Spur, the party, going as far as Mr Lindt's. For tea they were the guests of Mr and Mrs Gilbert at Gracedale House. They left by the evening train, thoroughly pleased with their outing (*Healesville Guardian and Yarra Glen Advertiser*, 17/9/1904).

78 Launched in 1898 and completed in 1901; the Puglia was used as a minelayer during WW1 and was retired from service in 1923. For more information see http://www.oz.net/~markhow/pre-dred/bits.htm#Puglia

The *Wanganui Chronicle* (20/10/1904) reported that the visit had convinced the Bishop of the value of Aboriginal missions:

> Dr. Clarke, Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, says a visit to one of the aboriginal settlements has convinced him of the wisdom of the work the church and State are doing for the remnant of the original inhabitants of Victoria, and that the vague talk of about the now intellectual and moral character of the race is false in the light of the results obtained by the kindly fostering care shown on the mission stations.

4.8 Sir Reginald Arthur James Talbot, Victorian Governor, October 1904

Sir Reginald Talbot served as Governor of Victoria from 25 July 1904 until 6 July 1908. He visited Coranderrk at the end of a long weekend stay in Healesville in October 1904. Unfortunately the article is to the point and reveals little of his visit to Coranderrk:

> The State Governor, Sir Reginald Talbot, Lady Talbot and party visited Healesville on Saturday by the midday train, and stayed at Gracedale House. Mr Bancell, of the Metropolitan Board of Works, acted as guide, and piloted the distinguished visitors to the various places of interest. In the afternoon, the Watts Weir was visited, His Excellency demonstrating his prowess with the rod and line, and on Sunday, the party drove to the Hermitage. On Monday, the Coranderrk aboriginal station was the chief source of interest, and lunch was taken at the Terminus Hotel. The party returned to the city by special train on Monday afternoon (*Healesville Guardian and Yarra Glen Advertiser*, 8/10/1904).

4.9 Alfred Hugh Fisher, Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office, June 1910

In Natalie Robarts's diary for 3 June 1910, she has the following entry concerning a visit to Coranderrk of a 'Mr and Mrs Fisher':

> We had today the visit of Mr. Keogh[79] and a Mr. and Mrs. Fisher who belong to the 'visual committee' formed actually by our present queen. After her visit in the late King's dominions she realised that the home people knew little or nothing regarding the Colonies – so a committee was formed to personally visit and gather information from all the Colonies. Mr. Fisher sketches and takes photos. He had King Anthony as his model asked several questions regarding this Station & the people he does that everywhere he visits & all that is put into book form for the use of the school (Robarts diary 3/6/1910 in Clark, 2014b: 47).

79 Mr. Keogh is Hubert Patrick Keogh (1857–1938), M.L.A. for Gippsland North (1901–1908), and Vice-Chairman of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines. Keogh joined the Board in 1902.

Figure 4.5: Alfred Hugh Fisher[80]

Alfred Hugh Fisher (1867–1945), was an English-born etcher, engraver, illustrator, and painter. He was appointed in July 1907 as an artist to the Visual Instruction Committee of the Colonial Office. His appointment came with a salary of £25 per month plus travelling and subsistence fees. His job was to illustrate lecture materials about the British Empire that the Visual Instruction Committee was producing for British school children. To prepare him for his photographic work he underwent training in photographic techniques. He was encouraged to spend several days in the places he visited so that he could absorb the atmosphere of each place more effectively. He was authorized to purchase photographs of important places he was unable to visit. He was to have the educational rather than the pictorial aspect in mind and he was instructed by the committee to present the 'native characteristics' of each colony and the 'superadded characteristics due to British rule'. For the next three years he travelled extensively throughout the British Empire taking photographs and making sketches. His visit to Australia was part of his final tour for the Committee.

80 Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/465981892664269565/

H.J. Mackinder (1911:84) has explained that the Visual Instruction Committee took the view 'that children in any part of the Empire would never understand what the other parts were like unless by some adequate means of visual instruction' and that where possible 'the teaching should be on the same lines in all parts of the Empire'. The Committee eventually came to the view that the illustrations used for teaching should be prepared on a uniform system by an artist especially commissioned and instructed for the purpose. With financial support from the Queen and others, Alfred Hugh Fisher was appointed. The Visual Instruction Committee favoured the use of the lantern slide – as the 'object in visual instruction is not to render thought unnecessary, but rather to call forth the effort of imagination' (Mackinder, 1911: 85).

Fisher published an account of his travels through India and Burma (Fisher, 1911),[81] but did not produce an account of his experiences in Australia. Fisher's travel journals (in the form of letters to his colleague Halford Mackinder) are in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. They concern his visits to Australia, Borneo, Canada, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, New Zealand, etc. In his personal diary, Hugh Fisher made the following entry regarding his visit to Coranderrk. He indicates that he entered into a dozen huts – he considered the 'whole visit was by far the most melancholy experience I had in Australia'.

> The weather was wintry wet and disagreeable – June 2 for instance was wet all day with a few short intervals of chilly sunshine – we left Melbourne that evening from Flinders Street station for Healesville and thought what a contrast it all was with our run out to Warburton (in the same direction) at Christmas time. We reached Daly's Hotel Healesville at 8.30 p.m. and the next day were taken by a Mr. Keogh, President of the "aborigines" board to see Coranderrk one of three native Reserves in Victoria, where 65 aborigines are confined in 2400 acres of land under the general care of a resident superintendent and a matron. At Lake Condah and Lake Tyers Mr Keogh said the same arrangements obtained.
>
> The natives live in government built brick huts and are clothed in government supplied garments and fed upon government supplied food. I went into about a dozen of the huts and saw a number of the wretched creatures living at Coranderrk. The whole visit was by far the most melancholy experience I had in Australia. I made a painting during the afternoon of one called King Billy [sic] who wears a semicircular brass plate or crescent over his chest which, rightly or wrongly, he says was given to him by the Duke of York "my playmate Dook York".[82]
>
> Then there was more rain, and the Coranderrk natives went on dying and C. & I got up to "the Hermitage" – Mr. Lindts ideal rest place in the very heart of the forest up on what is called Blacks' Spur.[83]

81 Fisher, A.H. (1911). *Through India and Burmah with Brush and Pen*. London: T. Werner Laurie.

82 Fisher has erred here; his subject was King Anthony Anderson.

83 Herbert F. West Collection of A. Hugh Fisher Series II Writings. Ephemera and Photographs. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, GEN MSS 795 Box 4 Folder 51 pp. 629–637.

The Advertiser (3/12/1909) reported on the work of the artist:

> SCENES OF THE EMPIRE. AN ARTISTS MISSION. Melbourne, December 30.
> Mr. A. Hugh Fisher, artist, of the visual instruction committee of the Colonial Office is at present in Melbourne. He is a member of the Royal Society of Painters and Etchers, and his duty is to make sketches, paintings and photographs of the life, characteristic features, leading industries, manners, and customs in various parts of the Empire, so that school children may be enabled to form more accurate ideas of Greater Britain. This is the third year of this appointment. In the first year he visited Ceylon, India, Burmah, Aden, Somaliland, and Cyprus. Last year was mainly devoted to Canada, but in winter Mr. Fisher left Vancouver for China, and visited Wei Hai Wei, Hong Kong, also Singapore and British North Borneo, returning to Canada for the spring. He came here the other day by the Omrah, and his instructions are to visit New Zealand and Fiji before entering upon the work of depicting scenes in Australia. Mr. Fisher will go on to New Zealand in a day or two and will return to Australia in March. He expects to get very good material here. The Governor-General and the State Governors were advised by a dispatch from the Colonial Office of Mr. Fisher's visit, and he bears letters of introduction to their Excellencies, and to some of the Commonwealth and State officials (*The Advertiser*, 31/12/1909).

After Mackinder left the Colonial Office project due to illness, the preparation of the lectures on Australia, British North America, the Far East, and Mediterranean colonies was taken over by A.J. Sargent, Professor of Commerce at the University of London. The Australian material was published by A.J. Sargent (1913). The book announced in its front pages that 'A set of Lantern Slides has been prepared in connection with this book, and is sold on behalf of the Committee by Messrs. Newton & Co., 37, King Street, Covent Garden W.C. ... from whom copies of this book can be obtained. The complete set of 489 slides may be had for £39'. In the preface it is confirmed that the lectures had been written by Arthur John Sargent and revised at the offices of the High Commissioners for the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand. The slides were derived from pictures painted and photographs taken by Mr. A. Hugh Fisher on behalf of the Committee, supplemented by photographs supplied from various sources. In terms of the eight lectures, lecture four concerned Victoria and Tasmania.

In the first lecture on Australasia, Sargent discussed the Aboriginal people of Australia:

> Whether we look at the animals, plants, or aborigines of Australia, we are at once struck with the fact that they belong to an entirely different order of life from that which we find in the other great continents. The whole region seems, from a very early age, to have been cut off effectively from the rest of the world, and to have developed along lines peculiar to itself; though since the advent of the white man we have the artificial introduction of European and other plants and animals, which bid fair in many cases to oust the native products, just as the white man has displaced the original inhabitants.
>
> The aborigines, as we found them, were as primitive as the plants and animals. They are not black, but a dark-brown people, and their hair is waved and silky, not curly like that of the negro. They are different also from the negro in the shape and build of the head and face. There are various theories as to their origin, but the nearest correspondence seems to be in some of the

ancient hill tribes of India and the Veddas of Ceylon. At any rate they are quite different from the Malays, and equally also from the now extinct Tasmanians. The Tasmanians had woolly hair, and perhaps represented the remnants of an earlier and even less developed race than the invaders from the north.

The native Australian, as the first European discoverers found him, was not an attractive being. He was looked on as little better than a wild beast and treated as such. This was partly due to ignorance of his language and customs. His mode of life was fitted by long adaptation to the peculiar conditions of his surroundings. He had developed no agriculture in his new home; not without reason, if we think of the agricultural possibilities of the country in the hands of a rude and backward people. He was equally without any of the useful animals, and had no means of procuring them. So he was reduced to the nomad life and to the utilisation of the wild roots and plants of the country and such small game as he could kill with his rude weapons. ...

The hostility of the native to the European colonists often arose from their interference with his natural food supply, or to their careless ignorance of his semi-religious ideas or customs, such as the tabu.

His only possible clothes were the skins of animals, and his weapons and tools all belonged to the Stone Age. The axe, knife, and hammer were in universal use, and long journeys were made to obtain the right kind of stone. This involved a certain amount of intercourse among the tribes. For weapons of offence the native had the club, and the spear tipped with bone or stone; while some tribes used a special spear-thrower. The boomerang was a curved bar of heavy wood, often five or six feet long, which was used for killing or stunning at a short distance. The smaller boomerang, which returns to the thrower, was merely a toy and used in sport; here we see it in use [Glass Lantern Slide 39 – Throwing the Boomerang]. The stone implements are all similar to those which are dug up in Europe, the relics of the Neolithic Age of man. One of the chief uses of the axe was to cut notches for climbing trees, in search of honey among other things; though they had another method which we see here [40 – Native Climbing a tree].

The natives were divided into tribes and sub-tribes, and had some form of tribal government, under head-men. In the south-east of the continent these chiefs had considerable authority and were sometimes treated by us as representing the tribe. Here is one of them, though he does not look imposing in his European dress [41 – Anthony Anderson] [see Figure 4.6]. They had an elaborate social system and curious marriage customs about which the learned still dispute. They had a strong belief in spirits of various kinds, though it could hardly be called a religion, and a whole series of tales and legends handed down orally, some of them showing considerable power of imagination. They even had the beginnings of some ideas of art and ornament [42 – Native Paintings], as we can judge from the crude paintings shown here [43 – Native Paintings].

The most interesting of their social customs was the corroboree [44 – Corroboree], a great gathering for feasting and dancing, often combined with some religious or social ceremony. Such meetings represented the only real social intercourse of the people and tribes, except messages by ambassadors who were sacred everywhere.

On the whole, then, they were not so low in the scale of civilisation as the early observers imagined. Even the language, with its many dialects, due to the absence of writing and the nomad life of the people, is elaborate and inflected like those of Europe.

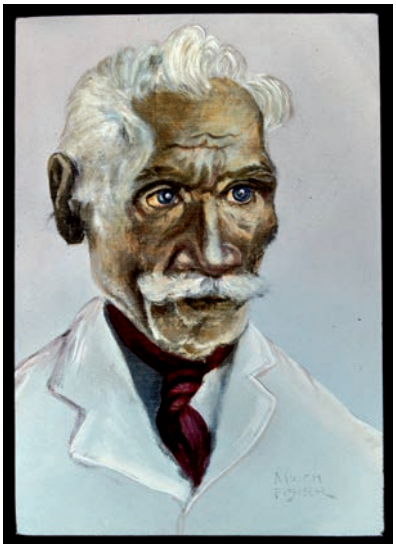

Figure 4.6: Anthony Anderson, glass lantern slide, A. Hugh Fisher, S.J. Jones collection of views of Australia; Australasia A.M.M. Set 1, 41. State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection, Accession no. H82.43/135.

> The native life in its original form is decaying, and survives chiefly in the interior and the west. Wherever white occupation has extended, the native is dying out; in fact, in some parts he survives only on the Government Reservations. Here are some of these survivors in Victoria [45 – Native Reserve, Victoria] [See Figure 4.7]. Here again, in Queensland, we see the native converted to European clothes, though he does not seem very comfortable in them [46 – Group of Natives, Queensland] [47 – A Native Woman, Queensland]. In this district, as in South and Western Australia, and the Northern Territory, they still exist in considerable number; but it is probable that there are less than 100,000 in all in the Commonwealth. In the census of 1911 an attempt was made to count them, and some 20,000 were found to be living in or near white settlements; only a vague estimate was possible in the case of the tribes of the interior, who still live their nomadic life in the more inaccessible parts of the country. But the area untouched by the white man grows smaller every year, and unless the native can change his character greatly, he is likely to die out in the north and west as in the south-east. In 1911 there were only about two thousand in New South Wales, hardly any in Victoria, and none at all in Tasmania. It was inevitable that the Australian native should be displaced from his hunting grounds (Sargent, 1913:14).

Butlin (1995: 182) has noted that the promotion of empire through books, illustrative materials, and educational syllabuses was widespread, part of an education policy geared to cultural imperialism, the imperial curriculum and the materials produced providing what Mangan has called ‘images for confident control’ and racial stereotypes used in imperial discourse. MacKenzie (1984: 162) considers the work of the Colonial Office Visual Committee to be one of formal, official imperial propaganda. The committee was tasked with providing the people of the United Kingdom and

Figure 4.7: 'Native Reserve, Victoria', Glass Lantern Slide 45, Photographer Arthur Herbert Evelyn Mattingley; Arthur Mattingley Collection, State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection, Accession no. H84.488/176.

its Dominions and colonies with 'a more vivid and accurate knowledge than they possess of the geography, social life, and the economic possibilities of the different parts of the empire' by making available lectures with accompanying lantern slides for use in schools. However, MacKenzie (1984: 34) observes that the Visual Committee failed in its efforts at imperial propaganda because it embraced the technique of the lantern slide at a time when it had already become obsolete with the advent of film. The magic lantern had been invented in the seventeenth century and by the late nineteenth century had achieved a degree of standardisation. Lantern slides were found particularly suited to travel and missionary subjects – missionaries and explorers used halls and theatres to show slides.

4.10 Lord and Lady Denman, March 1912, April 1913

In March 1912, Coranderrk matron, Natalie Robarts made a very brief diary entry concerning a visit from Lord Denman, the Governor General of Australia, and Lady Denman: 'Mme Melba, Lord and Lady Denman came to the Station by Motor, she [that is Melba] seemed not in a happy mood. Lord & Lady Denman very nice' (Robarts diary 20/3/1912 in Clark, 2014b: 53).

The Healesville community were earnestly preparing for the planting at Fernshaw of 'the Queen's Acorns'. When she was the Duchess of York, Queen Mary had picnicked at Fernshaw and to commemorate the occasion the Healesville Tourist and Progress Association had applied to the Queen for some oaks, to be planted at the spot. The Queen had complied with the request. The first lot sent failed to germinate, so a second set was requested. 'The acorns were handed over to the care of Mr Cronin, curator of the Botanical Gardens, and word was officially received from Lord Richard Neville last week by the Progress Association that they had germinated'. Lord Neville suggested to the tourist association that Her Excellency Lady Denman should be invited to be present at the official planting (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 29/11/1912). During their preparations there was 'A suggestion that Mr Robarts be asked to co-operate in taking what steps he thought advisable in bringing the natives of Coranderrk to participate in the proceedings was readily accepted, and it was decided accordingly'. After much planning, the planting ceremony was set for 11 April 1913. Natalie Robarts made the following entry in her diary regarding the plantings:

> Yesterday was a great gala day for Healesville. Lady Denman came to plant the Queens-oaks – she was received by the school children singing the national Anthem … John Terrick & Ted Collett were arrayed in native garb of 1868 [sic] with weapons etc. etc. Lady Denman seemed much amused & interested … she was presented with a boomerang with an inscription on a silver plate 'Presented to Lady Denman by the natives of Coranderrk on the occasion of the planting of the Queen's oaks' (Robarts diary 12/4/1913 in Clark, 2014b: 55).[84]

After the Fernshaw planting, it was decided to plant two historical oaks in Queen's Park where 'A presentation will also be made of a boomerang, suitably engraved, from the natives of Coranderrk' (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 4/4/1913). The local paper reported extensively on the celebrations. The arch of welcome had the words "Welcome to vice-Royalty" being on one side, and "Safe Return, Good Luck" on the other. In the centre was a painted coat-of-arms, and on the opposite corners a Kangaroo and Emu were depicted. The structure was decorated with flags and greenery and on opposite sides pedestals were constructed. One, upon which stood three aborigines, surrounded with the various native arms of war, was decorated with purely Australian foliage, and the words "Terra Australis, 1768" stood out boldly. On the other pedestal, Ivy Hall, and Masters Hall and Reg. Potter, three fair young Australians, presented quite a different appearance, and these represented Australia in 1913. According to the reporter, the effect of the tableaux lent a touch of originality to the scene, and Her Excellency was much impressed with the spectacle. At Queen's Park Lady Denman and party partook of afternoon tea, after which the Hon. Thomas [her son] was presented with a boomerang by a picaninny, and the Hon. Judith [her daughter]

84 According to the newspaper article, the period represented was 1768, not 1868.

with a native basket (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 11/4/1913). Another paper gave a little more information on the activities at Queen's Park:

> The Australian blacks from Coranderrk assembled in the park [Queen's Park], and two of the little piccaninnies, on their behalf, presented the Hon. Thomas Denman with an ornamented boomerang with gold inscription plate, and the Hon. Judith Denman with a basket of native workmanship. The blacks gave demonstrations of boomerang throwing and fire lighting with sticks (*Table Talk*, 17/4/1913).

4.11 Sir Arthur Lyulph Stanley, Victorian Governor, April 1919

Sir Arthur Stanley served as Governor of Victoria from 23 February 1914 until 30 January 1920. Natalie Robarts diarised his visit to Coranderrk on 7 April 1919. The residents took the opportunity of the Governor's visit to raise their concerns about the closure of Coranderrk and their removal to Lake Tyers Aboriginal station. Lanky Manton informed the Governor 'he would be shot before he would leave'. Violet and Alec Mullett also made strong pleas to the Governor to be allowed to stay at Coranderrk. W.H. Everard, a member of the Board, and a local parliamentarian, assured them 'there would be no compulsion'.

> The state governor Sir Arthur Stanley with party visited the station today. It was a perfect autumn day. Mr Everard the member for Evelyn & also member of the Aborigine's Board brought the party.[85] Sir Arthur was very pleasant, he is a real type of an English gentleman, taking an interest in all things, cordial to one & all & ready to enter into any happy suggestion regarding the welfare of the Aborigines. One almost forgot the 'Excellency". We entertained the party at morning tea in the drawing room, which looked particularly attractive with beautiful autumn roses & leaves & the pale sunshine peeping through the windows. We all had a very enjoyable morning. … Lanky, Violet Mullett & Alec addressed the governor pleading that they be not sent to Tyers. Lanky said he would be shot before he would leave. His Excellency was very diplomatic & referred their petition to Mr Everard who was hardly ready for this, His Excellency however warning him not to make rash promises (Robarts diary 7/4/1919 in Clark, 2014b: 78).[86]

The Governor's visit to Coranderrk was reported in *The Argus* newspaper, highlighting the petition from the Aboriginal residents.

> On the way to Healesville His Excellency visited the aboriginal station at Coranderrk, where the aborigines gave an exhibition of fire making and throwing boomerangs and spears. "Lanky" Manton, the one pure blooded aborigine on the station, produced fire by rubbing two sticks together, and gave His Excellency a light for his cigarette. The aborigines are much exercised

85 W.H. Everard, MLA for Evelyn 1917–1950.

86 Maurice Robarts's summary of his mother's diary entry: 'Visit by Governor Sir Arthur Stanley, & the local M.H.R. Mr Everard, Lanky Manton made fire with fire sticks for Governor, he & Alec Mullett made strong plea to visitors to be allowed to stay at Coranderrk'.

> about the proposal to remove them to the Lake Tyers station, and "Lanky" and others asked that they should be allowed to remain at Coranderrk. "They will never move me away unless they shoot me," said "Lanky." Mr Everard, who is a member of the Aborigines Protection Board, gave an assurance that there would be no compulsion. There is a proposal to take the 2,500 acres now used as an aborigines' station for repatriation purposes, but the aborigines claim that they were promised years ago that they would be allowed the use of the land for all time. After being entertained at morning tea by the superintendent of the station (Mr. Robarts) and Mrs Robarts, the party went on to Healesville, where His Excellency was welcomed by the president of the Healesville shire (Councillor Burnside) (*The Argus*, 8/4/1919).

Table Talk published a montage of five photographs of the Governor's visit to Healesville, including three taken at Coranderrk (see Figure 4.8).

4.12 Sailors From H.M.S. Renown, May 1920

In 1920 the Prince of Wales visited New Zealand and Australia as part of a tour of the British Dominions making his voyage in H.M.S. Renown. The *Renown* left Portsmouth, England, on 16 March, and visited New Zealand before embarking at Melbourne. In terms of the Prince's itinerary it was expected that he would arrive in Melbourne on 26 May and remain in Victoria until 6 June when he would leave for Sydney (*The Argus*, 16/3/1920). The Healesville Shire Council made a number of unsuccessful efforts to be included in the Prince's itinerary and then set about welcoming the sailors from the *Renown* (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 1/5/1920). Up to 500 sailors were expected to visit Healesville and the Superintendent of Coranderrk was asked if he could arrange a display by the Aborigines (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 15/5/1920). It transpired that 150 sailors visited Healesville:

> "RENOWN" SAILORS. Visit to Healesville. On Friday, 4th inst., 150 sailors from H.M.S. Renown arrived by special train at 11 a.m. ... Various kinds of sport were indulged in – displays in boomerang throwing and other purely Australian pastimes being the chief items (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 12/6/1920).

4.13 Lord Northcliffe, September 1921

Lord Northcliffe (Alfred Charles William Harmsworth), the famous media baron, visited Coranderrk in September 1921. Natalie Robarts made the following entry in her diary:

> Madame Melba visited here today bringing Lord Northcliffe & a Mr York.[87] Dame Melba was in a very good mood & pleasant to all. ... the children sang & Mme was pleased with their singing.

87 Presumably, Bernard Yorke, the second son of Lord Hardwicke, who was staying with Melba at Coldstream.

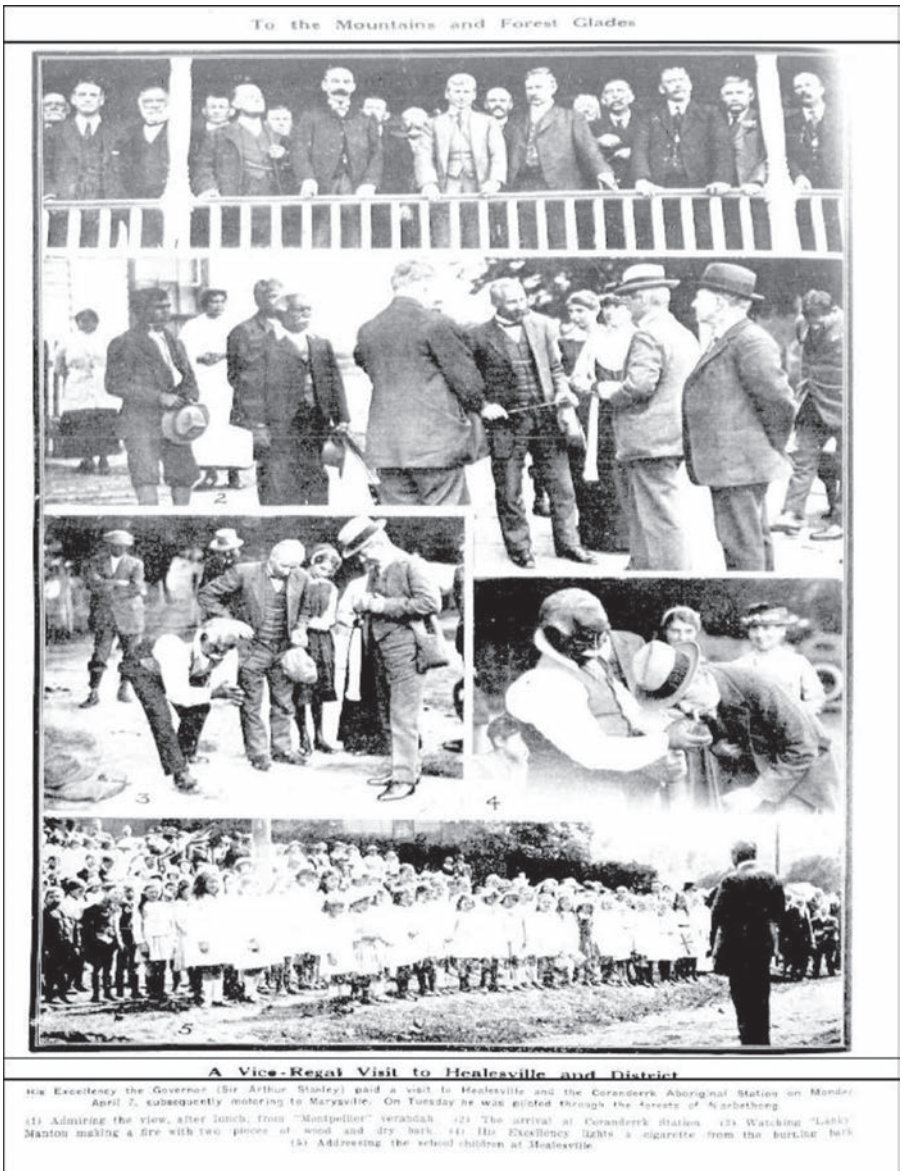

Figure 4.8: To the Mountains and Forest Glades. A Vice-Regal Visit to Healesville and District (*Table Talk*, 17/4/1919). His Excellency the Governor (Sir Arthur Stanley) paid a visit to Healesville and the Coranderrk Aboriginal Station on Monday April 7, subsequently motoring to Marysville. On Tuesday he was piloted through the forests of Narbethong. (1) Admiring the view, after lunch, from "Montpellier" verandah. (2) The arrival at Coranderrk Station. (3) Watching "Lanky" Manton making a fire with two pieces of wood and dry bark. (4) His Excellency lights a cigarette from the burning bark. (5) Addressing the school children at Healesville (*Table Talk*, 17/4/1919).

> She said they sang very naturally & did not keep their voices back, like most people do (Robarts diary 25/9/1921 in Clark, 2014b: 86).[88]

The local paper also published an account of his visit, and indicates that Northcliffe was greatly interested in the residents and wanted to hear a conversation in their native language:

> Lord Northcliffe, accompanied by Dame Nellie Melba, paid a visit to Coranderrk Station on Sunday afternoon and was shown over the settlement by Mr C.A. Robarts. Lord Northcliffe was greatly interested in the residents, being particularly keen in listening to a conversation in the native language. A number of songs were given by the children, who were highly delighted at the appreciation shown by the visitors. After leaving the station Lord Northcliffe and Dame Melba motored over the Blacks' Spur returning back to Melbourne the same evening (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 1/10/1921).

Lord Northcliffe died in August 1922 from infective or ulcerative endocarditis (Clarke, 1931: 300). His Australian travel memoir was published posthumously and edited by his brothers Cecil and St. John Harmsworth. In the Introduction they explain that it was Lord Northcliffe's habit 'to dictate his observations to one or other of the private secretaries who accompanied him on his travels, and to send sections home to be duplicated and circulated to the members of his immediate family circle. In the present volume the chapters correspond generally with the sections as they were received'.[89]

> In a press release published in *The Argus* (7/9/1921) Northcliffe advised the Australian public that he was visiting Australia 'for a holiday among Australian friends and family connections. I am not writing a book or anything else about Australia, except, perhaps, my opinion of the Commonwealth as a possible sphere for British investment and as a field for emigration. The other objects of my sojourn in Australia are rest and sunshine'. Tom Clarke (1931: 219f), the editor of the *News Chronicle*, who worked for Northcliffe, but did not accompany on him on his world tour, noted that Northcliffe had told him as far as his intended visit to Australia was concerned he wanted 'to solve the Riddle of the Pacific and White Australia. I want to know and understand better this great Empire and the world at large. ... I am growing older, and must see all I can quickly. I do not travel enough' (Clarke, 1931: 221).

In the posthumously published account of his journey, Northcliffe briefly discussed his visit to Coranderrk. Note that he states that the residents make their living through farm work and by making boomerangs and baskets for sale to the public.

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88 Maurice's summary of his mother's entry: 'Dame Nellie Melba visited today bringing with her Lord Northcliffe and a Mr York. Dame Nellie was in an excellent mood & praised the children who sang for her'.
89 During this voyage his travelling companions in Victoria included his brother-in-law, Harry Garland Milner, from Brisbane; H. Wickham Steed, then Editor of *The Times*, W.F. Bullock, New York correspondent of *The Daily Mail*, Keith Murdoch, Editor of *The Herald*, Melbourne; John Prioleau, principal private secretary; Harold W. Snoad, assistant private secretary; H. Pine, chauffeur; and Frederick Foulger, valet.

> I did not stay long at the [Lindt's] hermitage, for Melba likes moving about as much as I do. We went off to see a camp of aborigines – perhaps the only ones I shall see in Australia, because we may not be stopping at the northern parts of Queensland where they are numerous. They are short and ugly, with very wide faces. It is said there are fifty thousand left in Australia. They are most carefully protected by the Government, as are the Indians in Canada by the Canadian Government. Melba told me they had very good voices, and made them sing, which they did remarkably well. When it came to giving them some money, neither Melba nor I had any. I managed to extract a few shillings from the chauffeur. These aborigines live by farm work and making boomerangs and baskets for the public. One old man threw a boomerang. I have seen it done better at home (Northcliffe, 1923: 51–52).

When Lord Northcliffe visited Coranderrk in September 1921 he was in the company of Madame Nellie Melba. He was staying at Melba's Coldstream home 'Coombe Cottage'. Melba biographer Ann Blainey (2009: 308) describes Northcliffe as one of a galaxy of English guests who descended on the Coldstream cottage in 1921. Although his body was swollen with heart disease he proved to be an 'easy guest'. Melba referred to his visit in her autobiography:

> Nobody who knew the triumph of young Harmsworth could fail to feel deeply the tragedy of Lord Northcliffe. That last world-tour of his was the final gesture of a great man, but of a man already under sentence of death. When he arrived in Australia he came straight up to stay with me at Coombe, and I could hardly prevent myself crying out in pity, and alarm. The slim alert figure had grown heavy and swollen, the keen face was puffy and sagged, the bright darting eyes had lost their lustre. He gave me the impression of a man whose whole body was poisoned, as indeed it was. ... Six months later he was dead (Melba, 1925: 275f).

Reflecting on Northcliffe's publication of his world tour, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (14/7/1923) noted that the tour was 'conducted at big speed and under high pressure', and that Northcliffe was 'a sick man in search of health'. Consequently, although he was a keen observer, it was not surprising that some of his observations were rather superficial and his generalizations rather hasty.

4.14 The British Squadron and Members of the Methodist Church, March 1924

In 1923–24, HMS *Hood* and the Special Service Squadron sailed around the world on 'The Empire Cruise' visiting ports of call of all the countries which had fought together in the First World War. The ships involved were battlecruisers under Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Field: HMS *Hood* and HMS *Repulse* and light cruisers under Rear Admiral Sir Hubert Brand: HMS *Delhi*, HMS *Danae*, HMS *Dragon*, HMS *Dauntless*, and HMS *Adelaide*. In March 1924, *The Argus* reported on their visit to Healesville:

> Healesville, Thursday. Never before has Healesville presented such a gay and festive appearance as it did today, when 80 officers and men of the British Squadron, accompanied by clergy and

> members of the Methodist Church, visited Healesville. Other visitors accompanying the seamen numbered more than 100. ... The visitors were then entertained at lunch by Mr. F.J. Cato, a leading member of the Methodist Church. Several toasts were honoured, after which exhibitions of boomerang and spear throwing, and fire-stick kindling, given by Coranderrk aborigines were witnessed. Pleasure trips over the Blacks' Spur and other places of interest were made, and shortly before 5 o'clock the parties returned to Healesville, where tea was served in the Memorial Hall (*The Argus*, 21/3/ 1924).

The *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (29/3/1924) added that after the official speeches in the Memorial Hall, the 'gathering then dispersed and were entertained outside with exhibitions of fire-stick kindling, boomerang and spear throwing by "Lanky" Manton and "Billy" Russell.

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5 Journalists and Correspondents and Coranderrk

This chapter is concerned to analyse seventeen published accounts from journalists and correspondents who visited Coranderrk. They are of interest because they reveal the development of the station and show the evolution of Coranderrk as a tourist attraction and the response of the Aboriginal residents to this growing interest. Some accounts, such as that from a correspondent to *The Argus* (9/9/1876) indicate that Aboriginal residents, when it suited their purposes, were willing to use visitors as a way of making known their views about the way they were being treated whether they were issues with management or with the threat of station closure and forced relocation. In this sense residents' willingness to take advantage of tourism is an extension of Lydon's argument that they were using the occasion of visiting photographers to achieve their political ends. The correspondent to *The Argus* visited Coranderrk and gave an extensive report on conditions at the station. He concluded that 'the blacks are possessed of very extraordinary notions in regard to their position on the station, and in regard to their rights and privileges. They are under the impression that the land they occupy belongs to themselves, and also the buildings, the stock, and all that is on the station. They regard the board and its white employees partly as usurpers and intruders, and partly as more or less inefficient and dishonest administrators of their (the blacks') estate'.

5.1 An Easter Trip to Mount Juliet, April 1864

One of the earliest accounts of a tourist visit to the Coranderrk station was in the *South Bourke Standard* of 15 April 1864, a year after the commencement of the station. The author of the article gave an account of an Easter trip to Mount Juliet that included a visit to the Aboriginal station at Coranderrk. The party consisted of 20 people, five women, eight men, and seven Aboriginal people 'who rode in front, acting the capacity of guides, and clearing the track of fallen branches and other obstructions'. What is interesting here is that some of the Coranderrk residents served as tourist guides to Mount Juliet.

5.2 With 'The Last of the Mohicans' on the Upper Yarra, July 1866

The Australasian (28/7/1866) published an account from a visitor to the Upper Yarra who spent an evening at Coranderrk. This writer drew comparisons between American Indians and Aboriginal people, and described the market for possum skin rugs and lyre bird tail feathers. Of course the reference to the Mohicans may be a deliberate play on words as Mohican was the name of one of the Aboriginal stations established in the district before Coranderrk commenced operations in 1863.

Half an hour's dubious riding takes us among real savages of another class. We say dubious, for though the road to the blacks' station for a bush track is not bad, the darkness by this time had settled in one dense mass upon the earth. So pitchy black indeed had the night become that the outlines of the trees were barely distinguishable, and the only clue to the position of the station was a faint reflection indicating some distant fire. In the Victorian bushland, any more than in the tropics, twilight hardly exists, and half an hour bridges the interval between the rosy sunset and the blackest night. The mare, however, pretty well knocked up with her yesterday's work, plodded steadily onward. Then came the inevitable barking of dogs, and at once I rode into a camp of red American Indians, Siouxes, Hurons, anything you please-Cooper's men, in short. At any rate it was a very close imitation of the Huron camp in *The Last of the Mohicans*. The mia-mias are much like the wigwams in Catlin's exhibition, and as we paced fast by, through the smoke and flame of the fires within we glanced, upon dusky figures of the true savage type, some sitting, some lying, some stacking, some talking, and all at the sound of the horses tread starting to their doors to catch a glimpse of the passing strangers. A few yards more brought us in sight of a long, low building; and the sound of a hymn from many voices. It was the children's tea time, and a very good tea it was!

This remarkable settlement owes chiefly its initiation to the philanthropic enterprise and indomitable perseverance of the Rev. Mr Green, its present superintendent. Some three or four years ago the aborigines were a perfect nuisance to the neighbourhood, alternating between starvation and drunkenness, either beggars or bullies. How quickly disease was carrying them off may be judged by the fact that the present number of 102 are the remains of nine tribes, the Yarra Yarra numbering at present only twenty, three, of the Goulburn, and five other whose names I forget. How completely intemperance, neglect, and disease have been the cause of this fearful diminution, maybe judged from the fact that since they have been collected together and properly managed numbers have not decreased, but increased from 98 to 102. Mr. Green and his excellent wife seem, besides unlimited zeal, to possess that rare quality which so seldom cronies with zeal, namely common sense. The blacks are neither over managed nor under managed, it would be too absurd to treat the adults, vagabonds from their childhood like good little children at a Sunday school. To put them into model cottages with glazed windows and slate roofs would be to smother them at once. They are therefore left to pig in their mia-mias in aboriginal fashion. For four days in the week they are expected to work, and, tell, it not in Gath, so well do they work that this year there will be sixty acres in cultivation, and the settlement will be nearly self-supporting. The other two they are allowed to go out into the bush and hunt. Formerly the game was abundant, but now, with so many expert hunters after it, it is necessary to go some miles off. Wallaby, of course, are good for food, and parrots and bandicoots by no means despisable; but the chief prizes are opossums for their skins, and the lyre bird for its tail feathers. The opossum rugs sell readily at £1 15s. untanned, and £2 5s. tanned. The exquisite feathers of the lyre bird, the Australian pheasant, sell as high as 5s. apiece, but the lyre bird is particularly difficult to shoot. It requires a practised eye to make out its whereabouts, and the blacks themselves are often at fault. The net produce of the hunt averages £120, out of which the men have to find their own clothing, such as it is. Formerly, of course, all would have gone in rum, but now drunkenness is extinct. Only two cases occurred in three years, and in both the delinquents were expelled by the Sanhedrim of their own countrymen, which sits once a month as a kind of aboriginal grand jury. Besides the produce, of the chase, each working adult receives from five to six pounds of flour, and the non-workers a pound less. A small quantity of sugar and tobacco is likewise given. The total expense to Government is thus only £4 per head. The children, thirty seven in number, reside in the house, and of course have to be entirely supported.

At eight p.m. a bell rang, and the whole settlement came trooping in to prayers. It was curious, glancing round on the crowded room, to see these swarthy faces turned towards the reader, most in vacant observation, but some evidently attentive. Positively, I do not think the native face repulsive. It is grotesque, and strikes one at first like a comic mask, but it has good points about it; the eyes are often good, though furtive and wild. Prayers over, all trooped out, each in passing shaking Mr. and Mrs. Green by the hand, and the settlement went peaceably to bed.

I could not help thinking, as I lay that night listening to the plungent dash of the rain, which augured ill for the expedition of the morrow, about all the doings of the day, and how much, after all, civilization was forth. Which were the more, civilized, Mrs. A and Mrs. B in crinolines tearing each other in the mud, or the grateful savages who are constantly bringing Mrs. Green rough presents because she has been kind to them? However," *Kismet*" as the Turks say. They are doomed. Be it so, but at any rate let their doom come to them as lightly as possible. Our treatment of the natives is anything but a white spot in the history of Australia, and if national death must come to its first inhabitants, let it be euthanasia (*The Australasian*, 28/7/1866).

5.3 Notes of a Trip to the Black Spur, March 1868

This newspaper article mentions the manufacture of baskets, rugs, and native implements to be sold as objects of curiosity to visitors. The author also challenged the commonly held view that the extinction of Aboriginal people was inevitable.

Notes of a Trip to the Black Spur
What interested me most of all in the course of my holiday excursion was the Black Station at Coranderrk, about two miles from Healesville. I was there two days; and the greater part of the third; enjoying the hospitality of Mr Green, the superintendent, and making myself familiar with the ways of the black fellows under his charge. I have often heard it said (and who has not?) that it is of no use attempting to civilise the blacks; that they are utterly incapable of civilisation; that they are a doomed race, fast dying out; and that the best thing to do with them is to let them alone, I never believed in this doctrine, and cannot believe in it after being at Coranderrk. I saw seventy-five blacks there, including men, women, and children; I saw them in their huts; I saw the men at work in the harvest field, reaping, binding and stacking the corn; I saw the women making baskets and tending their babies at home; I saw the boys in the school, and at play on the cricket ground; I saw them all attending religious service both week day and Sunday; I conversed with young and old repeatedly; and had it not been for the dark hue of their skin and the peculiar physiognomy of some of them, I confess I could hardly have noticed any difference between them and ordinary English farm laborers. They dress as our laborers do; and on Sundays they come to chapel clean and tidy, each in his Sunday suit, and with his boots well blackened. Some of the young women wear lace collars and brooches, and one or two of them are not without personal attractions. Their clothes are not provided for them be it understood. Each adult must keep himself in clothes, and a good rule – it is, if they are to be trained to habits of independence. Their industry is shown by the fact that they have between 60 and 70 acres under cultivation; that they grow wheat, oats, maize and potatoes, for the supply of the settlement; and that they do all the ploughing themselves, all the sowing and reaping, and in short all the work of a farm; requiring no more superintendence than any farmer is in the habit of giving to his men. They are allowed two days in the week for hunting and fishing; and by making opossum rugs, baskets and native implements, to be sold us objects of curiosity to visitors, they earn a little money, which

> amounts in the aggregate to about £100 per annum. Every man has his horses and cows bought with his own money. Last year ten of the men went to the Goulburn to assist in getting in the harvest, and earned £128. One of them, it is true, spent his moiety in drink on the way back, but he was a new chum; the others saved their earnings for judicious expenditure. There is not a man on the place now but has given up drinking habits long enough to show that he is capable of resolution, prudence and foresight, and some have given up smoking. The minority have been settled four years, without showing the least sign of hankering after their old roaming habits. They can all speak English, and read a little. Some of the girls are able to write letters to their friends. The boys are all merry enough, but the men are grave, even to sadness, in their looks; though they are losing in some degree that wildness of eye peculiar to the savage state. They are reserved and shy, especially with strangers. Their religious ideas and feelings I will leave to be inferred from what I have said regarding the progress they have already made in the common habits of civilisation (*Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 3/3/1868).

The author was also somewhat critical of the research methods of the Rev. Julian Woods who had paid a fleeting visit to Coranderrk:

> I am aware that the Rev. Julian Woods has pronounced them to be utterly ignorant in regard to religion; but let it be considered that he was at the station not longer than twenty minutes altogether, and that if he had an opportunity of conversing with any of the blacks at all, it was scarcely long enough for him to have penetrated that barrier of reserve which, as it characterises them generally in their intercourse with strangers, so does it most of all when religion is in question. Mr Woods is a man of science as well as a priest, and in dealing with human phenomena, as he had to deal at Coranderrk, I should have expected him to proceed inductively rather than dogmatically. He best knows why he allowed himself to lapse into the mere priest, and arrive at a conclusion without sufficient data to warrant it, or rather without duty at all (*Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 3/3/1868).

5.4 A Week on the Yarra Track by "Beppo", January 1874

A correspondent who used the *nom de plume* 'Beppo' noted that he and a friend called 'Giacomo' spent a week in the summer holidays in the vicinity of Mt Juliet and Fernshaw. One of the day trips they made was to Coranderrk:

> On Sunday we paid a visit to the Blacks' Station at Coranderrk on Badger's Creek. We walked all round, conversed with the blacks, went through the hop plantation, and finally attended the service. The behaviour of the congregation was excellent, as was also the singing (*The Telegraph, St Kilda, Prahran and South Yarra Guardian*, 17/1/1874).

5.5 'Our Sable Brethren Live in Semi-civilized Comfort', November 1874

Another correspondent identified as J.W.M. wrote an account of a week in the Yarra valley in November 1874. He explained that the motivation for his 'week's holiday in

the country' was a 'desire to look upon the face of nature'. He chose to visit the 'Yarra Flats' where they stayed with a friend. After breakfast they arrived in Healesville and visited Coranderrk:

> ... This is one of several similar institutions provided for the purpose of sheltering the remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants of Victoria, and preserving them as far as possible from the destructive influences which seem destined to extinguish their race. Owing mainly, I believe, to the judicious management of Mr. John Green, the late superintendent (since promoted to some higher sphere of duty in the same service), a great deal of success has attended the work at Corranderk [sic], and numerous families of our sable brethren live in semi-civilized comfort on the station, whilst numberless paddocks are fenced in and cultivated. A large quantity of farm improvements and station stock, a hop garden, with drying kiln, &c., complete, and oven a system of waterworks bringing the water of the Badger Creek into the very centre of the tiny township, show that vigorous efforts have been made to turn their labor to some profitable account. ... J.W.M. (*Mercury*, 30/1/1875).

5.6 Coranderrk – 'Well Worth a Visit, But Go On a Week Day', January 1875

'Pedestriano' promoted Coranderrk as well worth a visit, but cautioned that the visitor should go on a week day, as the station is preoccupied on the Sabbath:

> On the morning of the 3rd January, the weather showing no signs of clearing up, in company with the representative of the Lands Office, I made tracks for Healesville, formerly called New Chum, where we were joined by the bonded store keeper and brother—and guided by the hotel keeper, Mr. Morrison, at once started for the Black Protectorate Station at Coranderrk, distant about three miles over a very bad road, very soft and badly in want of broken metal. The Black Station consists of a number of wooden houses, comfortably built, but few inside adornments, said not being appreciated by the natives, who appear to furnish their domiciles with "cooking utensils only." There are about 100 blacks, a large number being children, the majority of the males, are handsome fellows, with large black timid-looking eyes, long black flowing hair, and whiskers and moustaches, for which many a young swell would give three years of his existence. The women are ugly, coarse, and uncouth creatures, and evidently do not relish being told that their husbands have a much darker complexion than the children. (Strange, but true, many of the children being almost white.) It being the Sabbath-day we did not like to intrude upon the Superintendent, and were thus unable to acquire information concerning the natives, such as their habits, diet, general health, future prospects, etc. We found an extensive hop garden in a most flourishing condition, and from which a handsome profit will be realised this year. ... The Government have reserved a large area of land, to be in a position to extend the enterprise when feasible; much has been done, but a vast deal more, is yet to be accomplished. A new kiln for drying the hops was in course of erection, but we were unable to learn much concerning it, as the contractor received us with a curse; was not at all choice in his language, and evidently, not the class of man to impart information of an interesting or valuable character. Coranderrk is well worthy of a visit, but go on a week day. And should you be a man of Kent, you can readily imagine yourself transported to the hop gardens of Thong. ... 'Pedestriano' (*The Record and Emerald Hill and Sandridge Advertiser,* 18/3/1875).

5.7 Cricket at Coranderrk, April 1876

An account in *The Argus* of 6/4/1876 informed its readers of the intersection of tourism and cricket at Coranderrk. A cricket match between the visitors and a team from Coranderrk was an opportunity for the visitors to see how the 'natives are housed, treated, &c.'

> ... A cricket match will be played between eleven of the natives and the visitors. The former have been hard at work practising for the event, and they are looking forward to it with great joy. The visiting eleven will comprise one or two fair players, but the remainder will be purely of the "muff" order, and gentlemen of some standing in the city. The tourists will start from Melbourne on Friday afternoon (*The Argus*, 6/4/1876).

5.8 'Under the Impression that Coranderrk Belongs to Them', September 1876

In September 1876 a 'special correspondent' to *The Argus* (9/9/1876) spent a day at Coranderrk and published a lengthy report of their impressions. He concluded that 'the blacks are possessed of very extraordinary notions in regard to their position on the station, and in regard to their rights and privileges. They are under the impression that the land they occupy belongs to themselves, and also the buildings, the stock, and all that is on the station. They regard the board and its white employees partly as usurpers and intruders, and partly as more or less inefficient and dishonest administrators of their (the blacks') estate'. The identity of the correspondent is not revealed. The correspondent considered the 'blacks at Coranderrk are a helpless, thriftless class'. Noting the station consisted of 4,850 acres, the correspondent could not believe that the station was subsidised by the state. 'A thousand white people could support themselves on the Coranderrk Station, and require no subsidy; a still larger population of Chinese would get rich upon it'. The Aboriginal people at Coranderrk were the cause of this state of affairs: 'He is there a pampered child, who expects to have everything done for him, while he does little or nothing in return, and he will only submit to discipline in so far as that may meet his own convenience and suit his taste'. The correspondent then described the day he spent on the station.

At 11.30 a.m. he witnessed a small *émeute* or small rebellion on the station. The hop workers had taken a break from work to have a smoke and had been advised by the hop manager that unless they resumed work they would not receive credit for their half-day's labour. They went in search of the superintendent – Hugh Halliday. A ninety minute public meeting ensued in which they condemned the management of the station. They also asserted that their meat ration was insufficient; they could not live and work upon it.

The correspondent noted that Halliday had only been in office since March and 'though he is doing his best to introduce some needed reforms, and has already accomplished a good deal, much yet needs to be done. The work is naturally slow. Official delay hinders it, and want of money, and most of all, the nature of the blacks themselves. They have never been taught to submit to strict discipline, and can indeed do pretty well as they please'. He considered Halliday 'acts wisely in exercising a little patience, and endeavouring to introduce better habits by degrees'. The correspondent then noted that 'The fact which impresses itself most forcibly upon the mind of a reflective visitor to Coranderrk, is, in the first place, that there should be no such establishment at all; and in the second that granting the establishment as an exorable circumstance, three-fourths of its inhabitants have no business to be there. … They are as fit to earn their own living as the average white man, and they would probably be happier and more contented fighting their own way in the world than they are now' (*The Argus*, 9/9/1876).

5.9 John Stanley James, aka 'The Vagabond', and Coranderrk

One of the greatest critics of Coranderrk in the nineteenth century was 'The Vagabond', aka John Stanley James aka 'Julian Thomas', who was a regular visitor to Coranderrk (see Figure 5.1). James visited Coranderrk at least four times – in 1877, 1885, 1888, and in 1893. In 1885–6 he also visited Framlingham, Ramahyuck, and Lake Tyers Aboriginal stations. After his first visit to Coranderrk in March 1877 he wrote 'A Peep at "The Blacks"' for *The Argus*.

In the published historiography of Coranderrk the work of The Vagabond has received very little prominence. Barwick (1998: 304) in her study of Coranderrk, presumably, borrows the title of his 1877 paper when writing about Coranderrk in the 1880s; she observes that the Blackfellows' township had become 'a shabby zoo where thousands of idle tourists visited on Sunday afternoons. They came for a 'peep at the blacks'; they went away with their prejudices confirmed'. Jane Lydon (2014: n.p.) in a discussion of hop picking and its place in creating an Aboriginal idyll at Christian farming villages such as Lake Tyers and Coranderrk, refers to James' inspection of the Coranderrk hop garden and his comment that 'at a slight distance [they are] one of the prettiest sights in the world'.

John Stanley James (1843–1896) was an English-born freelance journalist who went to America in 1872 where he changed his name to Julian Thomas. He arrived in Australia in 1875 'sick in body and mind, and broken in fortune'. In 1876 he began to publish articles using the pseudonym 'A Vagabond' – and later changed this to 'The Vagabond' as he gained greater notoriety. He published a series on 'the social life and public institutions of Melbourne from a point of view unattainable to the majority', often based on first-hand reports of what it was like to be 'inside' certain institutions, a kind of investigative journalism or immersive journalism in which he went under-

Figure 5.1: John Stanley James aka The Vagabond, J. Brown photographer, 1860. State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection, Accession No. H29809

cover. He brought to his observations a breadth of perspective gained from his knowledge of other societies. In a recent analysis by Willa McDonald (2014) James's work is considered an early example of Australian literary journalism. According to Sims (2008) literary journalism is characterised by such things as immersion reporting, a focus on ordinary people, character development, complicated structures, symbolism, voice, and accuracy. Whitt (2008) considers literary journalism is interpretation, a personal point of view, whose focus is not institutions *per se* but the lives of those affected by those institutions. Jean Chalaby in his study of the history of journalism has described this field as 'miserabilism' (McDonald, 2014: 70), reporting on the evils of poverty and deprivation to an upper-class audience. The *Wanganui Chronicle* (29/11/1877), in referring to his fourth volume of the "Vagabond Papers" which included 'A peep at the Blacks' – his first article on Coranderrk, noted that he was 'still finding plenty of social sores to probe'.

James (1877 vol.1: preface, n.p.) described his work as 'a new line of Australian journalism ... I have everywhere been on "the inside track," and write from that eligible vantage point'. He went into institutions such as the Immigrants' Home, the Benevolent Asylum where he had himself admitted, working as a porter at the Alfred

Hospital, attendant at lunatic asylums, and dispenser-cum-dentist at Pentridge gaol. James was interested in powerlessness and in his narratives he often positioned himself as an advocate for the marginalized and oppressed. Yet whilst he stood with the underclass in Melbourne society his advocacy did not extend to Aboriginal people. Although the Coranderrk Aboriginal station was only a short distance from Melbourne, it was one institution he did not investigate by going undercover –rather he accepted an invitation from his host to visit the station in March 1877 whilst he was staying in the Yering district. Evidently, James was not interested in the 'inside track' of Coranderrk – his interest was limited to a mere 'peep'.

In 1884, James signed a three-year contract with the *Argus* newspaper to travel throughout regional Victoria describing country towns for a series entitled 'Picturesque Victoria'. In the 1890s he published a second series of articles entitled 'Country Sketches' that concern his travels and adventures in south-eastern Australia. Cannon (1981: viii) considered the two series were 'exhilarating'. Today, this writing would be considered destination journalism or travel writing.

5.9.1 'A Peep at the Blacks': The Vagabond's First Visit to Coranderrk, March 1877

James's first article on Coranderrk was published in the *Argus* of 7 July 1877. It was republished in the fourth volume of the 'Vagabond Papers' in 1877.[90] In the article James reveals that he accepts the familiar tropes, established narratives and racist myths about Aboriginal people that were prevalent in the latter part of the nineteenth century: their laziness; their inability to farm; and their addiction to alcohol. Julia Peck's (2010) analysis of James's writings is the opinions he expressed were indicative of the debates in Victoria at that time that led to the implementation of the 1886 Aborigines Protection Act (also known as the 'Half-Caste Act') which redefined Aboriginality on the basis of racial terms and reclassified people of mixed descent as 'white'. In practical terms this meant that part-Aboriginal people between the ages of 14 and 34 were given three years before they were forced to leave Victoria's mission stations and integrate and assimilate into European society and become self-sufficient. The immediate effect of implementation was a reduction in government spending and the attempt to fracture families. Barwick (1998: 197f) refers to it as a vicious article which represented the views of local residents 'who coveted the reserve but he gave the impression that the criticisms were the views of staff'.

The Vagabond made his first visit to Coranderrk in March 1877 – former police sergeant Hugh Halliday was superintendent at this time:

90 It was reproduced in the *Portland Guardian* (17/7/1877) and the New Zealand newspaper *Colonist* (26/7/1877).

A PEEP AT "THE BLACKS." By A VAGABOND.
During my pleasant sojourn in the Yering Valley in March last, our host one day inquired, "Would you like to go and see the Blacks, '' I assented dubiously, not at first being quite sure as to the description of amusement thereby designated. But I was very pleased when I found that "the Blacks" was the colloquial term in the district for the aboriginal station at Coranderrk. Two of our party refused to go, preferring cigars and grapes, and *dolce far niente* under the verandah.[91] However two dear little friends and an eminent banker accompanied me. ....

We started after an early lunch, and driving through the lovely vineyard and across large paddocks, struck a slip panel, and emerged into the high road to Healesville. One mile of Australian bush road, except on the mountains, is much the same as another. *En route* we passed an old blackfellow, who, gun in hand, and with half a dozen dogs at his heels, was following his natural instincts as a hunter. Crossing the Yarra, we drove along fertile flats, and then turned sharply to the right along a bush track leading to the station. We passed trees with rude carvings on them, the figure writings, earliest efforts of all savage tribes. But whether this was a remnant of ancient aboriginal art, or an imitation of the white man's, I cannot say. We soon arrived at the station, which is quite a settlement, comprising some 30 cottages or huts, schoolhouse, and houses of the superintendent and schoolmaster, kiln for drying hops, barns, stables, and other outbuildings. Driving along the street between the huts the first thing that strikes a visitor is the ample supply of water. There is a large open gutter on each side of the street, there is a water-tap in the centre, which is fed by pipes filled from Badger's Creek, which runs through the grounds, having a large fall from its mountain source. There are few men to be seen about. Lubras were at the doors or outside of their huts, some lazily washing, others administering to their babies. The superintendent of the station was not at home, but the school-master, an intelligent and superior kind of man, did the honours of Coranderrk. The first thing we inspected was the hop garden. I have seen hop-picking in Kent – at a slight distance one of the prettiest sights in the world. Here, however, hops grow luxuriantly, and the long poles were covered with trailing plants, bent beneath a weight of blossoms. Hop-picking is a light, easy employment, and one would have expected to find all the hands on the station at work here. Not so, however; the gorgeous "bucks," secure in the possession of free quarters, clothing, rations, and wives, will not work for the extra inducement of a shilling a day, but roam round the country, hunting a little, stealing a little, getting drunk occasionally, and generally having a remarkably good time of it. The Government-maintained heir of the soil scorns work, and hop-picking is apparently done by some of the lubras, a few old men and boys, and Chinamen from Melbourne. In real truth, however, the work is done by the latter, who being paid by the "pocket," toil on with the patient, untiring industry of their race, being thus able to earn from 20s. to 25s. a week. The work done by the lubras, children, and old men is very little. They lazily pull at the poles, or lie in the shade. The women have all sorts of complexions, and their children are all sorts of colours. Dark women have light picanninnies and *vice versa*. Miscegenation appears to be practised to its full extent at Coranderrk. One very old blackfellow was pointed out to me whose boast it is that for years he never saw a white man without shooting at him; and he is believed to have killed a few in his time.

The Coranderrk reserve is about 5,000 acres in extent, and the hop garden only occupies 20 acres. The rest of the ground under cultivation comprises hay paddocks, potato field, fruit and vegeta-

91 An old Italian expression; literally means 'doing sweet nothing', which translates into 'delicious idleness' or 'the sweetness of doing nothing'.

ble garden, and orchard. The hop-garden alone affords any part of profit or return. There is little doubt that much more land might be brought under cultivation if the blacks would work, but when Chinese labour has to be employed to gather the hops now raised, it is evident that scant progress will ever be made in this direction. The greater part of the reserve is in primal scrub and bush, and is used as a cattle run, there being a good deal of stock on the station. Cattle are required to furnish the pound of meat daily with which each adult is supplied, and each family has also a cow. The few blackfellows who work act as stockmen and herdsmen; they like the excitement and pretence of labour which riding about affords them. After leaving the hop-gardens we went to look at the kiln where the interesting process of drying and packing the hops into bales is carried on. This was done by white men. A blackfellow cantered by us on a good horse. He was as well clad at the Government expense as any English labourer, and in every material respect has, to my mind, a better lot of it. The "cottages" at Coranderrk next claimed our attention. They are miserable and squalid enough, no doubt, made of paling and bark, but after all they are good enough for the occupant!, who do not desire, and will not trouble themselves to get, anything better. They are as good as negro huts in many parts of the States, and better and more healthy than many of the shanties in the purlieus of Little Bourke-street. Dr. M'Crea, I know, issued a strong report against the state of the huts at Coranderrk, but I think he will find in Melbourne city far more glaring examples for him to moralise on. Mind, I don't say Coranderrk is a nice place, but it is good enough for its lazy, indolent inhabitants. The neglect and shiftlessness apparent all around reminded me very much of a free negro settlement. Offal and rubbish lying about; gardens, so called, overrun with weeds; turkeys, fowls, and ducks, apparently sharing the huts with their human inhabitants – all this is characteristic of the freed negro, who will, as a rule, do as little work as he can possibly help.

School hours were over, but the children scattered about the street and hop garden were hastily summoned to the schoolhouse for our inspection. There are about 25 boys and girls in the school, of all ages from 10 downwards, and all shades of colour from pure black to pure white. They sang one of Moody and Sankey's hymns for our entertainment. "It is a small world," said my friend. "The last time I heard that was in Exeter-hall, London. I little thought then I should be in company with 'The Vagabond' at a black station and listen to the same air." As the children sang I inspected them, and my soul grew wroth within me. Why should these children with less than a quarter of black blood in their veins be condemned to be branded as "blacks," so for ever associated with them, and be reared only to be the victim, wife or mistress as you will, of some lazy brutal blackfellow, her progeny being thus of a lower grade than their mother? Why could not they be raised at a state school, and given a chance in life away from the stupid and immoral influences of an aboriginal station? I know that this seems opposed to theories in which I was raised, but it is not so. In America, "coloured people," those with a drop of white blood in their veins, will never mate with "black niggers," and a Quadroon or Octoroon girl may be sure of finding that their children will possess more of white blood than they do. And so in time, our "peculiar institution" being abolished, the black blood is worked out, and five generations from the negro may be reckoned as pure white. Altogether, my opinion of Coranderrk is that it is but a Government breeding establishment, where the native and mixed races propagate in idleness. There can hardly be said to be a pretence of work on the part of the blacks there. They occupy valuable land near townships. Their women get seduced (if such a term can be used of those to whom chastity is an unknown virtue) by white people, and they all obtain drink from the same source. I know this has been denied, but inquiries in the neighbourhood satisfied me of its truth, and but the other day 16 blacks were brought before the magistrates at Healesville for being under the influence of liquor. If we must have a Government station for aborigines, I would say send them up the country, where they would be by themselves, free from the temptations of the white man. A far better plan, however, would, I think, is to send them

> to those parts of Australia where game still abounds, and where the squatters would pay them for every kangaroo killed. They would then follow out their own life, and be happy according to their lights, dying out by degrees, remaining savages perchance to the last. Civilise them, I hold, you cannot.
>
> But humanitarians will say the land belonged first to the black man, who does not want Anglo-Saxon civilisation, but merely leave to occupy his heritage, and live his miserable, savage, brutal life in peace, "The land belonged to them, and there was a first wrong committed in taking what was not ours." I say there was not. The earth belongs to those who will occupy and cultivate it, converting barren wastes into teeming pastures and fields of grain. Savages who live by the spoils of the chase can only thinly populate a country which, tenanted by civilised men will feed thousands. The apparent first wrong is after all a right, not on the ground of "the good old rule, the simple plan," but following out a far higher law, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." The nomad savage who will not work, and who uselessly cumbers the ground, must disappear before the white man. It is so in America, where, however badly individuals may have behaved to the Indians, the nation has endeavoured to fulfil all its just obligations to the original occupiers of the soil. But in spite of all efforts the wild Indians of the plains can never be reclaimed. I have seen them at "agencies" and in reservations, I have seen them arranged in hostile line attacking a surveying party. I have ate with them, and fought with them, and am forced to the conclusion that General Phil Sheridan was right when he said, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The American aboriginal is of a far higher type than the Australian, which will, happily for all, soon disappear from this continent. And when one thinks what they were and are, and sees how at Coranderrk, with its feeble attempts at civilising, and weak efforts to convert to Christianity (?), the savage character is so little changed, one is forced to the conclusion that it is useless to attempt to artificially preserve the remains of a race never lovely in itself, and whose members have only learnt – and will only learn – the vices of the white man, and none of his virtues (*The Argus*, 7/7/1877).

5.9.2 A Second Visit from 'The Vagabond', May 1885

The Vagabond returned to Healesville in May 1885,[92] and noted in his subsequent article that the village was becoming a popular tourist resort. He described how at the Coranderrk Aboriginal station, globe trotters from Manchester and Birmingham were able to get their 'first impressions of the Australian black fellow' and 'purchase badly made boomerangs and other curios' as mementoes of their experiences. James described the Aboriginal people on the station as frauds with no picturesque points principally renowned for their laziness. He then gave a brief description of what can be seen at Coranderrk and concluded that those Manchester and Birmingham tourists with a commercial vein may be interested to know that the station had made a loss of over £5,000 in the previous year.

92 William Goodall was now superintendent of Coranderrk.

PICTURESQUE VICTORIA. By "THE VAGABOND"
Healesville is yearly becoming more popular as an inland holiday resort. ... Metropolitan cockneys always find a deep joy in walking or riding to Coranderrk and Manchester and Birmingham globe trotters there get first impressions of the Australian black fellow, and purchase badly made boomerangs and other curios to take home to their family circles, mementoes of their experiences with the "Savage" of Australia in his native lair. The aboriginal on Government stations is, however, as most people know, a fraud. He has no picturesque points, and is principally renowned for his laziness. But at Coranderrk, visitors may be interested in the score of huts and cottages, the hop gardens and kiln, the school, also acting as a church, and the laundry and sewing rooms he will learn that out of the 100 "aborigines," there are 31 children, principally half castes, at school, who are 'fairly advanced' and that "religious instruction is given to all daily." And Manchester and Birmingham tourists of a commercial vein will, above all, be struck with the fact that in the account of receipts and expenditures at Coranderrk for 1884, there is a balance on the wrong side of £5,003 18s 5d! (*The Argus*, 23/5/1885).

In another newspaper article in 1885 James acknowledged that Coranderrk was a great attraction to visitors to Melbourne:

Picturesque Victoria: To Healesville
We pass the entrance to the station on the right. I have refused to again visit this native reserve. Eight years ago I was here with two young friends, now in France, and I gave my impressions of the place in *The Vagabond Papers*. I have also lately condemned the whole principle of the policy pursued towards our aboriginals in the carrying out of the system of reserves, which are principally occupied by half-castes, and I do not wish to be always harping on the same string. But Coranderrk is a great attraction to Melbourne visitors at Healesville, which is only two miles off (*The Australasian*, 30/5/1885).

5.9.3 The Vagabond's 1893 Visit to Coranderrk

James returned to Coranderrk in 1893 – Joseph Shaw was now the superintendent.

HEALESVILLE. BY "THE VAGABOND," IN *THE LEADER*.
Coranderrk is one of the first places the tourist at Healesville will visit. You can walk there and back and do the place in three hours. The number of full blooded blacks here is rapidly decreasing, although the board is trying hard to keep up the color by importing aboriginals from the Murray and the far western district. The reserve of 5000 acres was set aside for the nominal use of the old Yarra tribe. At the present time there is only one of these left, William Berwick, a very fine old man, known to many by Senor Loureiro's magnificent painting, a Son of the Soil. The ordinary criticism on this picture was that it was not like an Australian aboriginal, the features being too good. That is true. The painting does not represent a type, but it is a wonderful study of William Berwick, who is the handsomest aboriginal I have ever seen, with Aryan profile and intelligent expression. The last of his race, king by descent, as he will tell you, is of a distinct type to other blackfellow I have seen in the length and breadth of Australia.

A new chum will be pleased with a visit to Coranderrk. When the old men strip off their European clothes and put themselves in fighting attitudes with spears and boomerangs in hand, the new chum will be thrilled. But they can throw neither spear nor boomerang. They have lost all their

> old arts, and have not acquired the industries of the whites. One can scarcely credit that they do not even make their own bread, which is supplied to the station from Healesville, Mr. Roberts being the contractor. The women make baskets of rushes, which the men sell in the township, and which are pleasing souvenirs for visitors to take them. But there is an old Tasmanian lives in the ranges who makes baskets of white wood, very superior to the native production. I but repeat now what I have written for years – that Coranderrk is a disgrace to the colony, land being locked here which should be utilised by white men. An effort is now being made to turn part of the reserve into a Village Settlement. But the whole reserve must be resumed by the Government or the last state will be worse than the first. The black fellows can be cleared away to the extensive reserves at Lake Tyers or Lake Wellington, where they can die off in idleness and dirt. I think William Berwick and his wife might be allowed to end their days on the spot where his ancestors were chiefs. At the present moment every man, woman, Coranderrk is kept at a cost of 200 acres of land per head locked up, and rations and clothes, and an expensive superintendence (*Healesville Guardian*, 29/12/1893).

McDonald (2014: 74) has noted that 'James's articles were highly controversial and drew a great many letters to the editor, both for and against'. In the case of Coranderrk his final article on the station elicited a response from a local Healesville woman, who had had enough of his negativity about the Aboriginal people of Coranderrk. Her letter also reveals the excitement in Healesville at the news of the impending visit of the Vagabond and the concern from local businesses that they needed to show him deference in case he wrote negative things about Healesville.

> THE "VAGABOND" AND ABORIGINES. (To the Editor of *The Guardian*)
> SIR,-Vagabonds are a class of people whom no honest and respectable person would like to associate with; but it was very amusing to see the state of excitement into which the inhabitants of Healesville were thrown a few days ago by the arrival of "The Vagabond." My little boy came home from school, exclaiming – "Mother, the Vagabond's in Healesville!" And to see the business people and others how they fluttered and hovered around him, knowing that unless they paid him some such homage, they would get a very poor advertisement if any. When he visited the bowling-green gentlemen of whom I would have expected better things – gave their subscription to get him a drink, because they did not wish to appear unsociable. Now, I am a woman, and my opinion of the "Vagabond" may go for very little; but I do think that he is a great coward. The unmanly way in which he attacks the aboriginals of Coranderrk, and the false witness he bears against them is mean and cowardly in the extreme. The "Vagabond" says that Coranderrk is a "disgrace to the colony; "I say it is a credit to the colony, and to the Government, that they have provided such a home for the aborigines (whose lands they occupy), that the men, women, and children might be protected from the drinking habits and the evil vices and influences of the white vagabonds who travel about the country. That the natives are naturally lazy is well known; but I venture to say that there is not a native at Coranderrk one bit more lazy than "The Vagabond," and I know for a fact that more of Coranderrk natives have gone to the Murray district than have come from thence. I think if the "Vagabond" will only venture to visit Coranderrk that the native men – and women, too – will readily show him with what a steady hand and true aim they can throw the spear and wield the waddy. I am tired reading the same old story from the "Vagabond," as it is all puff and rubbish. It is very unmanly indeed to write as he does against the poor aborigines. He does not seem to know that the natives cultivate a hop garden at Coranderrk, and that by their own industry alone they have succeeded in gaining the champion prize at the Royal Agricultural Show on several occasions, and that their

> hops have realised by far the highest price in the market. They also plough and sow, and carry on general farm operations, and their little village settlement may be regarded as a model of order and cleanliness. I challenge "The Vagabond" to prove anything to the contrary. His other remarks are unworthy of attention. Yours, &c., A WOMAN. December 19, 1893 (*Healesville Guardian*, 21/12/1893).

James's writings often contain what Cannon (1969: v) has described as 'philosophical homilies' reflecting his 'particular blend of liberal, conservative, free trade and anti-church views' (Cannon, 1969: 5). He often expressed anti-Semitic and anti-Black views. The latter are seen in his writing about the Aboriginal people he met in Victoria. James shared the prevailing populist view that the Aboriginal race was destined for extinction as the savage 'must disappear before the white man'. He believed the Aboriginal people 'belonged to an inferior Stone Age race, destined to die out before the advance of a superior white race. This simple analysis was of a piece with his times' (Cannon, 1981: xiii).

James promulgated the stereotype that Aboriginal people are lazy, indolent, and work-shy. He believed that children of mixed-descent should not be branded as 'blacks' but 'given a chance in life away from the stupid and immoral influences of an aboriginal station'. He thought Coranderrk a 'peculiar institution', one that was simply a 'government breeding establishment where the native and mixed races propagate in idleness'. Peck's (2010: 217) assessment is that James was 'naive about the effects of separating children from their families, and his opinion reflects the widespread doubts about the missionaries' effectiveness in civilising Aborigines …'. James also frowned upon the fact that the station occupied 'valuable land near townships' and considered a far better plan would be to send the Aboriginal people of Coranderrk 'to those parts of Australia where game still abounds, and where the squatters would pay them for every kangaroo killed'. Another justification for removal was their underuse of the land – the earth belongs to those who will occupy and cultivate it'. He considered it was using valuable land close to Melbourne and his preference, if there had to be a government station, was that it should be up the country away from the temptations of white men. He characterised Coranderrk as a feeble attempt at civilising, and weak efforts at Christianising. He considered it 'useless to attempt to artificially preserve the remains of a race never lovely in itself, and whose members have only learnt – and will only learn – the vices of the white man, and none of its virtues'. Although James was critical of Coranderrk and was an early advocate for its closure, he was more positive about the Lake Tyers mission station. Aboriginal villages, such as Lake Tyers, which represented a vision of an Aboriginal arcadia, combined the European agrarian ideal with aspects of traditional Aboriginal life such as fishing, and assumed the form of an idyll, a charming scene of rural peace. Lydon (2014) has noted that even the 'hostile journalist' John Stanley James 'acknowledged this appeal in describing the picturesqueness of Aboriginal life on the Gippsland lakes'.

5.10 'Melbournensis', Yering, and the Black Spur, January 1881

In 1881 in *The Irish Monthly* an article entitled 'Yering and the Black Spur' that mentioned Coranderrk was published by someone who used the *nom de plume* Melbournensis. Research by the author into the identity of Melbournensis has revealed he was the Rev. Michael J. Watson, S.J. (1845–1931).[93] In 1911 he published a volume of historical sketches entitled *The Story of Burke and Wills: with sketches and essays* and in this work he included the sketch 'In the Highlands, Victoria' which is a verbatim copy of 'Yering and the Black Spur'.

> YERING AND THE BLACK SPUR VISITED BY MELBOURNENSIS.
> During my stay in Yering I had the pleasure of making one of a party of excursionists to Fernshaw and the Black Spur. We set out early. Shortly after leaving the house we met a comfortably-dressed, good-looking aboriginal, on horseback. He belonged to the native station of Coranderrk, which is situated about a mile from the road which we were following. We put a few questions to "Tommy," and received quick, intelligent answers (Watson, 1881: 42–46).

5.11 Melton Prior and Coranderrk, January 1888

Melton Prior, a 'Special Artist' and war correspondent for the *Illustrated London News* from the early 1870s until 1904, reported in its 12 January 1889 issue that he had recently visited Coranderrk. Prior had come to Melbourne to make sketches of the 1888 Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition (*Daily Alta California*, 30/5/1888).[94] In September 1888, the *Geelong Advertiser* reported on Prior's activities in Australia:

> The readers of the *Illustrated London News* must be familiar with the graphic sketches from the pencil of Mr Melton Prior, who for nearly two decades has acted as special artist of that journal in every one of the wars which have taken place during that period. Mr Melton Prior has been on a professional visit to Melbourne for two months past, for the purpose of sketching Melbourne during the Centennial Exhibition period. He has been asked to deliver a series of lectures in Melbourne and the provinces, and has consented. He will lecture in the town halls of Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, and Sandhurst at an early date, and his lectures will include his war experiences, illustrated by panoramic sketches from his own pencil, done on the field of battle (*Geelong Advertiser*, 13/9/1888).

Prior confirmed the tourist trade enjoyed by the Aboriginal residents – the women made fancy articles, such as the feather aprons used in 'olden times' or baskets and nets, and these articles may be purchased by visitors to Coranderrk. The men were

93 Watson was ordained into the Jesuit Order in 1871 and arrived in Australia in 1872 to join the Melbourne archdiocese – he was attached to St. Patrick's College, East Melbourne. He was editor of the 'Australian Messenger' from 1887 until 1917 (*The Argus*, 4/7/1931).
94 Several of Prior's sketches of Melbourne and Geelong are in the National Library of Australia.

Figure 5.2: Melton Prior.[95]

allowed to manufacture and sell boomerangs. Prior was entertained by displays of boomerang throwing and an old man showed him how to make a fire with two pieces of wood and dry bark. Prior observed the 'natives here collected live in comparative comfort, with very little work to do; hop-growing being of the principal employments', and noted that 'To say they are happy in this confined condition would not be true'.

Three Prior sketches of scenes at Coranderrk were reproduced in *The Illustrated London News*: one showing the primitive Australian method of making fire which depicts tourists standing around an elderly Aboriginal man as he makes a fire (see Figure 5.3). The second depicts the main street of the station and is entitled 'Street of Coranderrk, the Aborigines' Station, Victoria (see Figure 5.4).[96] The third is a scene on the oval entitled 'Boomerang-Throwing at Coranderrk, the Aborigines' Station, Vic-

95 Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/82/Melton_Prior.jpg

96 This image was used on the front and back covers of Diane Barwick's (1998) *Rebellion at Coranderrk*.

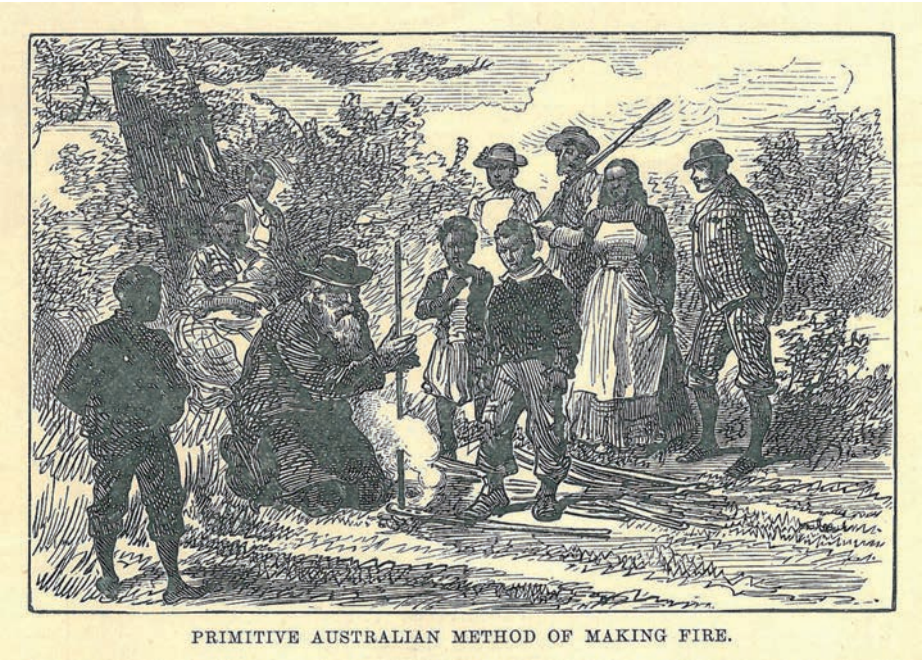

Figure 5.3: 'Primitive Australian method of making fire'. By our special artist, Mr. Melton Prior. (Source: *The Illustrated London News*, 12/1/1889, p. 51).

toria,' and shows groups of tourists watching Aboriginal men throwing boomerangs (see Figure 5.5).[97]

Entitled 'Sketches in Australia – By Our Special Artist, Mr. Melton Prior', the article in *The Illustrated London News*, explained that 'Our Special Artist, Mr. Melton Prior, during his recent sojourn at Melbourne, the capital of the Colony of Victoria, had an opportunity of visiting the Government station for the residence of protected aborigines, which is situated at a place called Coranderrk, in the hill country beyond Lilydale, a small town or village of about four thousand inhabitants on the railway twenty-four miles north-east of Melbourne'.

> We proceed to give our Special Artist's own account of his excursion to the Coranderrk Aborigines' Station, and of the road to that place, which is from Lilydale, he says," a perfect slough of despond," at least in the season of the year when he performed the journey ...

97 A scraperboard drawing after this engraving was reproduced on the front cover of volume 12, a special issue of the journal *Aboriginal History* in honour of the late Diane Barwick.

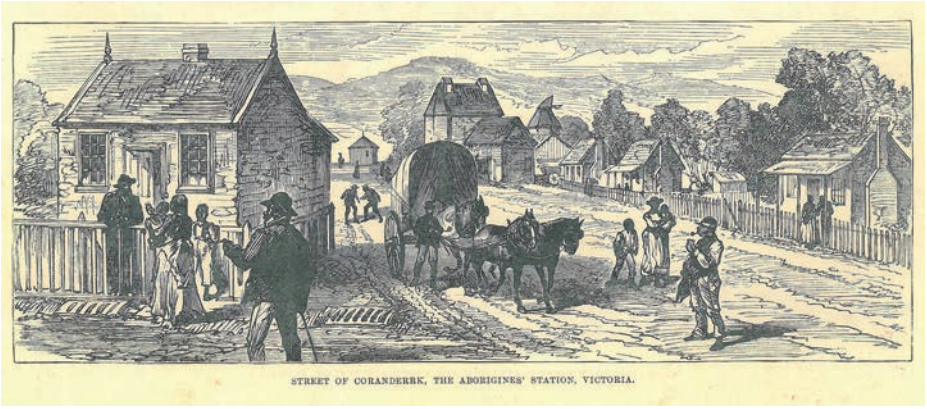

Figure 5.4: 'Street of Coranderrk, the Aborigines' Station, Victoria'. By our special artist, Mr. Melton Prior. (Source: *The Illustrated London News*, 12/1/1889, p. 51).

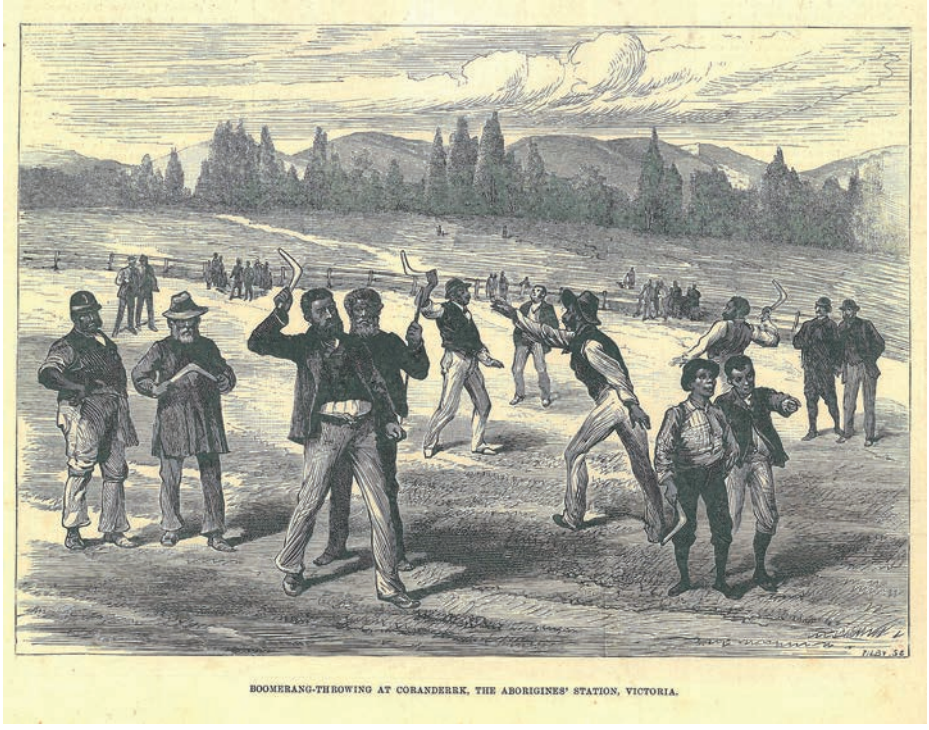

Figure 5.5: 'Boomerang-Throwing at Coranderrk, the Aborigines' Station, Victoria'. By our special artist, Mr. Melton Prior. (Source: *The Illustrated London News*, 12/1/1889, p. 52).

"We soon arrive, therefore, at the gates of Coranderrk Station, one of the reserves provided by Government for the remnants of Australian aborigines. It is a large tract of land, over 4000 acres. The natives here collected live in comparative comfort, with very little work to do; hop-growing being one of the principal employments. To say they are happy in this confined condition would not be true; but they are watched over by a gentleman, Mr. Shaw, who does his utmost both in careful superintendence and by his friendly manner, to render their restraint more tolerable; and he seems to have gained the goodwill of the unfortunate people, who are fast being thinned by age and disease.

"A good deal of work is got through at times, the women being expert with the needle in making fancy articles, such as the feather aprons used by the natives in olden times, or baskets and nets; and these articles may be purchased by visitors to Coranderrk. The men are allowed to go out hunting occasionally; but one of their chief amusements is the making and throwing of boomerangs, which they also are allowed to sell. Great care and skill are necessary in their manufacture, to ensure the peculiar flight of these strange missile weapons through the air.

"I chanced to be there in the evening when the men, young and old, were out practising with boomerangs and trying them; and I was much astonished by the extraordinary style in which, being thrown with great force, the boomerang would whirl through the air, looking like a hoop; then, after rising and falling, and swooping about in the manner of a bird, it would return and fall at the thrower's feet. The children and boys were running to and fro, picking up the fallen implement as it fell; whilst the wives and sisters were looking on at a distance.

"For the second time in my life, I here also saw an old native make fire with two pieces of wood. One piece of wood rests on the ground, over some very dry bark of a tree, and then, with a long stick put between the hands, a certain twist is given, not so much by force as by knack, till the two pieces of wood emit sparks, which ignite the dry bark, and there is the fire. The whole process does not take more than half a minute. Novices may try their hands at it, but with as much success as in throwing the boomerang, for great practice and skill are necessary in both operations."

5.12 A Cricket Match: Coranderrk versus St John's Cricket Club, November 1892

This next article concerns a cricket match at Coranderrk station between St John's Cricket Club from Williamstown and an Aboriginal team from Coranderrk. The day's proceedings were organized by the Coranderrk school teacher Edwards. Before the game commenced, the tourists were treated to an exhibition of boomerang throwing and several of them tried their hand at throwing. After the game which was won by the visitors some of the cricketers visited the station and inspected the residences at Coranderrk, others went fern gathering.

A TRIP TO CORANDERRK (By One of the Party)
ANXIOUS to spend Prince of Wales' Birthday in the peaceful stillness of the country, away from the humdrum and busy activity of city life, the members of the St. John's Cricket Club arranged – through the kind offices of Mr Edwards, school teacher at the Coranderrk station – a match for that day with the native team of that place. The contingent, who left Footscray by the 6.29 train, numbered 11. We hurried down from Spencer street to Princes Bridge station, for the train to Hea-

lesville was timed to leave the latter station at seven o'clock. We got down in good time, but had a mighty struggle to get the tickets. … However, we, the members of St John's, safely ensconced ourselves in a first-class carriage; and all went well. We had a merry trip to Healesville, which station we reached at a quarter past nine. There we were duly met by Mr Tresize, a prominent member of the Healesville Football and Cricket club, a former acquaintance of the writer, and one to whom we were much indebted for kindness received during the day.

There also were buggies driven by two of our sable opponents; Tom Dunolly and Billy Russell. Into the vehicles we got, and were driven out to Coranderrk, about two and a half miles away. It was a lovely drive through the bush, and one could not help thinking how true the line of the poet, "God made the country, but man made the town."[98] The picturesqueness of Coranderrk station has been described in other journals by abler pens than mine; suffice it for me to say that it is a beautifully situated spot, and one that delighted the eyes of all of our team.

We were driven to Mr Edwards' house, where we were warmly welcomed by Mrs and the Misses Edwards, Mr Edwards, whom we would have liked to have personally thanked for having arranged the match, having gone to Melbourne to battle on behalf of the Healesville Bowling Club with Princes Park Club. Coming up in the train we had been recounting to each other our varied experiences that morning about getting our own breakfast. In some cases the fire would not light, in others the kettle was put on with no water in it, and some had just time to rush for the train. In a word we were hungry, but we never expected to find such an excellent breakfast ready for us on our arrival at Coranderrk. Yes. Mrs and the Misses Edwards' had prepared for us a sumptuous repast, which was done full justice to. After breakfast our fellows were treated to a splendid exhibition of boomerang throwing by the natives. A few of our contingent essayed the task of throwing them, but narrowly escaping killing a few of their comrades they gave up the attempt, and contented themselves with watching the wonderful way in which Jack Friday and Billy Russell made the weapons perform. Some of our team were anxious for tennis on the morning, but our opponents advised making an early start at cricket, as they prognosticated rain would commence about four o'clock. We took their advice and commenced about eleven. A really excellent wicket had been prepared, and when our captain, George Cuming, won the toss from Tom Dunolly who commanded our opponents, he decided to bat. The bowling of Dunolly and McLellan was so good that the first five of our wickets fell very rapidly, but thanks to vigorous cricket by A. Scott, and H. Dobbie, and a careful innings by T. Handfield, the innings reached 81 runs before the last wicket fell. Dunolly and McLellan bowled right throughout the innings and shaped splendidly, especially the former, who trundled with extreme hard luck, several catches being missed off his bowling. W. Shaw and H. Scott started the bowling for St John's, and both being in good form, the wickets fell rapidly until Foster came in to bat. He commenced trilling in brilliant style, and caused Scott to retire in favor of Dobbie. Eventually the innings closed for 47, out of which number Foster made 18. We were then entertained to an alfresco luncheon by our opponents, who had provided a tempting lot of eatables, which, after our two hours play, were much enjoyed. After smoke-oh, cricket was resumed by our captain sending our opponents again to the wickets. On the second essay they made 54, Foster again batting vigorously. Fortunate we were in the first innings in getting rid of Dunolly, the skipper, so cushy, as he is an excellent batsman. We were left 21 to get to win, and Handfield and H. Scott were sent in to make them, and succeeded in doing so, the latter batsman scoring 19 by free cricket and was caught in the long field just as the requisite number had been made. This ended the game. The cheers

98 William Cowper.

which we gave our opponents at the conclusion were hearty, for it was one of the most pleasant games we had ever played. Our opponents were as jolly and amiable a set of cricketers as one could meet, and their captain showed that he was the right man in the right place. Better fielding than that of Harrison, one of our antagonists is very seldom witnessed, and the umpiring of Mr Tresize and Bobby Wandon gave satisfaction to everybody. About 3.30 cricket was over, and we put in the rest of the afternoon in various ways. Some played tennis, others inspected the well-kept station, and visited the residences of the blacks, whilst a few went fern gathering and came home laden with a splendid lot of maiden hair and wild flowers. True to the blacks' prediction rain commenced to fall about 4.30. Tea was then provided by Mrs Edwards, and about seven o'clock we were driven to Healesville to catch the train, but before leaving gave three hearty cheers for Mrs and the Misses Edwards for their very great kindness to us during the day. The rain was coming down in torrents as we drove through the bush to Healesville. But what cared we for that? We had spent a most enjoyable day, and it would take more than a good wetting to damp the ardour of our spirits. I cannot conclude this crude account of our trip without mentioning the name of Jack Friday, one of our opponents. Will any one of us ever forget his merry laugh, and his really witty sayings? I trow not. On the return journey to Melbourne we had his company, as he went to Melbourne for a day. What a splendid lot of songs he sang for us. Poor old Jack! May his shadow never grow less (He is only 16 stone) (*Independent*, 19/11/1892).

5.13 A Camping Holiday on the Coranderrk Creek, January 1894

In January 1894 a party of friends went to Healesville for a camping holiday at Christmas on Coranderrk Creek. The members of the party were called 'the Professor, the Volunteer, the Grub, the Grumbler, the Wombat, and the Irrepressible'. During their holiday they visited the Coranderrk Aboriginal station:

A HOLIDAY AT HEALESVILLE. CAMPING ON THE CORANDERRK. [BY A.J.]
The trip to see the Coranderrk blacks was made on a fine day, and I went. The rain never stopped our boys! There is not a great deal to see at the station pure and simple. You have to make your own fun there. Boomerang throwing is all very well in its way and was interesting to me, but what the crowd I was with did not know and had not seen seemed infinitesimally small. The Grub knew something about black fellows, got the chief of a tribe (whose name I forget)[99] to express his conception of "love." At first the task appeared hopeless, but a little whisper advanced matters considerably. The next instant the erstwhile leader of his mob had tucked the Grub in the ribs, was chuckling most peculiarly, and saying the Grub knew all about it. I had always believed the black fellow had nothing but animality in his economy, but this gentleman listened with wrapt attention while the Grub recited portions of Shelly's "Rosalind" and "Helen," and Philip Marston's "Before the Battle." The Professor afterwards dwelt at length on the atomic or some similar theory, and showed how this man, who had been selected for a chief, probably was so constituted to have far more intelligence than the common or garden black. We all liked listening to the Professor when he had it bad; there was a gladsome relief when he finished, not to be obtained otherwise. However, a sensitive photograph would be the thing to reproduce this scene, and as that was not at hand, anybody who wants to hear the Chief of all the Yarras, or of whatever clan it was he bossed before the white man spread over Victoria, had better take out the

99 This is most likely William Barak, leading clan-head at Coranderrk.

Grub to get the old chap on the job again. The Volunteer endeavoured to obtain a sketch of the old boy's warrior days, but this was a failure. Except that in action the sky was not seen for spears, we learned nothing (*Healesville Guardian*, 5/1/1894).

5.14 'Amongst the Black Fellows' by J.D.C., November 1911

This is an interesting article as it reveals the context in which the Aboriginal residents of Coranderrk expected to interact with tourists – with dignity and formal introductions. One white female tourist who was looking at a little baby was quickly told by the child's mother that 'her staring and gazing at the tiny black piccaninny was not quite becoming [of] a lady'.

"Amongst the Blackfellows!" Such an opportunity fell to my lot on Boxing Day holiday, when I paid a visit to Healesville. Here there was a bicycle sports meeting held, and it was attended by the Australian aboriginals, or what is left of them, who are homed at what is known as the Coronderrk [sic] Station. There were old blacks and young blacks, married blacks with their wives and families, some of the latter in arms, others toddling hither and thither, of varied ages and both sexes. Certainly, all told, the number was not great. They comprise the handful left to remind their whiter-skinned brethren who it was who formerly held sway and possession of that portion of Australia known as Victoria. Your blackfellow and black woman, of course – of today, are a highly civilised class, and don't you forget it! Undeniably, however, as a people, they are still aboriginals. With their high cheek bones, eyes large and gleaming, that appear to scan the country for innumerable miles at a glance, jet black hair, and holding their still beloved boomerang and fire stick, they don't fail to give one the impression that they are what they are descendants of the old and original stock. In their dress, which, truth to tell, is moulded in the rough, they make brave attempts to imitate the attire of their European brothers and sisters. As for the ladies, one cannot say that he noticed an ideal hobble skirt or bucket hat. Possibly that is a circumstance that can be put down to the credit of the female aboriginals. They appeared to appreciate comfort rather than any absolute style that may have emanated from Paris, for their costumes were ideally appropriate to the warm weather that prevailed, even though the fitting was not entirely accurate in parts. Your black lady and gentleman deport themselves with every ounce of dignity at their command, and anyone who attempts to strike up a conversation with them without the formality of an introduction, in the majority of cases soon finds this out. A black woman, for instance, was nursing a piccaninny an interesting little creature to gaze upon. A white woman, out of excusable curiosity, kept on eyeing the little one and watching its antics. The mother just as keenly now and again eyed the white woman, and losing patience, informed her in perfect English pronunciation and enunciation to the effect that her staring and gazing at the tiny black piccaninny was not quite becoming a lady. The white woman wasn't slow at taking the hint! I had the good fortune to drop across one interesting old blackfellow. He was none other than King Anthony Anderson, of Birchip, Donald, and two or three other places. This information is contained on a brass oval plate which "His Majesty" wears around his neck. The plate was said to have been sent out to Anthony by the present King when Duke of York. Amongst people who speak in the familiar style King Anthony is known as "Tony". "Tony's" exact age is unknown, but it is reckoned to be anything between 50 and 100, or over. At all events, there is no more genial soul alive than "Tony". He is a humorist, too, in his way. Likewise his style of conversation is quite taking. I had a word with "Tony." I felt quite honored.

The blackfellows took a very keen interest in the bicycle sports. In addition, there was a boomerang throwing competition for the blacks. By way of preliminary a white man – one of the sports officials – tried his hand at the game. He threw a boomerang, it took a terribly erratic course in endeavouring to return, and as a finale it struck an elderly blackfellow on the face and knocked his pipe out of his mouth! The crowd roared with laughter; but the blackfellow simply picked up his pipe as if experiences of this kind were every-day occurrences to him! It is no awe-inspiring spectacle to see the present day black throw his boomerang. With a slight curve of the body, to the right and to the rear, the old time implement of war is thrown with apparently little impetus, and less ceremony. Away it goes in a circle at first sight looking like a bird on the wing, and if it comes right back to the feet of the thrower so much the better for the dexterity of the thrower. An elderly and a young black engaged in a fire-stick competition. With the point of the stick held against a piece of wood the fire is lighted by the friction, i.e., by whirling the stick backwards and forwards between both hands. A small piece of inflammable material is close to the point of the stick ready to catch the first spark, and when this, is done the material is picked up and the spark coaxed into a flame by using the mouth as a bellows. The old black blew soft and hard alternately, but the result was only smoke. The younger competitor, amidst applause, was the first to produce the flame. The old fellow had had bad luck and in his case, at least, a maxim of the whites, that where there's smoke there's fire, did not hold good. Some of the blacks also took part in the greasy pig competition, which a dozen or so whites also participated. Piggy, although he had his tail greased, had a very short run. The crowd was upon him in quick time, and when all was over a blackfellow emerged carrying the squealing pig on his shoulder. He had proved victorious, but the result did not cause as much world-wide interest as when Mr Jack Johnson, the gentleman of color, knocked out the "hope of the white race" in the person of Mr Jim Jeffries. That civilisation was firmly implanted in the breasts of the Healesville black fellows was proved by the fact that they are quite prepared to make a bargain where the coin of the realm is concerned, as the winner of the contest immediately sold the pig for 15/-. The sports over, the blacks strolled out of the ground at intervals to return homewards, and as the shades of evening were failing fast the sounds of "coo-ee" fell upon one's ears. This made me feel more than ever that I was indeed "Amongst the Blackfellows!" (*Malvern Standard*, 21/11/1911).

5.15 A Picnic at Coranderrk, March 1914

In March 1914 a lady visitor to Coranderrk contributed presents and gifts to the Coranderrk residents for their annual picnic. It is an interesting article in that it shows the activities the residents enjoyed when they were spending quality community time together, including boomerang throwing, fire making competition, basket making competition, various foot races, and a tug of war. At the end of proceedings three men sang and performed a corroboree.

Picnic at Coranderrk (Contributed.) Thursday, March 26.
The day was all that could he desired for picnicking, though John Blair and "Lanky" Manton thought that the wind would hazard and spoil good boomerang throwing. Just after lunch men and maids, old and young, began to gather from the camps on the bank of the Yarra Yarra and from the homes on the hills. How nice and smart they all looked-evidence of care is not wanting. Modestly and cleanly attired little ones shyly waited their turn in the day's sport. Said a lady visitor: Do the folk at Coranderrk have an annual picnic? We do not need to go into details, this

is enough, that this lady sent along many little presents of value, another also sent a few gifts, so the superintendent and his good wife did the catering, and a few friends came to help the day's sport. "Lanky" Manton let Russell fix the peg for the boomerang throwing. "Lanky's" first throw arrived [...] yards and a half away, and the other seven competitors could not beat it. Then the fire making was another interesting display. Everybody thought that Henry McCrae was going to win, but his bark was too new. "Lanky," who had failed, again tried and finished second to Alex McCrae, who had had two tries. In this and the former event the prizes were two tobacco pouches and pipes and one knife. The tug-of-war was most exciting, but the married men held their own throughout, and smiled upon five pipes. The old women competed in basket making, five minutes commencement of the basket. Jemima Dunolly was first, and Ellen Terrick beat Ellen Richards for second place. The married women's race was well handicapped, and Mrs Kate Mullett, just beat Mrs Mary McCrae, who had five others closely in pursuit. The young women very shyly contested, and Jessie Wandin just won by a foot from Mary McCrae. In this and the foregoing event, the prizes were two lace collars and two nice necklaces. Daisy Davis, with a happy smile, was to be seen with her new skipping rope, signally her success, while four little girls, two with books, one with a ball, and one with a necklace, quietly brought their winnings to their mother. Campbell and Freddie Mullett had a good run for a book and a trumpet. The usual votes of thanks were moved and hearty cheers accorded after the replenishing of the inner man; then Russell, "Lanky" and John sang and did a corroboree. Eyes turned to the west where a rich copper glow like a posthumous veil eclipsed the sun, and a quiet murmur passed from soul to soul watch out tomorrow. Happy, laughing folk cheered lustily while they watched the champion runner of the station beat the best runner among the single men. Other nice gifts of texts and two bibles were distributed, and another lady visitor gave each little one a prize packet, or a sweet stick. Little Teddy is three years old, no one beat him for the drum – he beats it as his father carries him up the hill to the station. The rain came! (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 27/3/1914).

5.16 'How Would You Like To Be Forced to Move to Germany?' January 1918

One of the most striking instances of a Coranderrk resident taking advantage of a visitor to their station to advance their political interests and make clear protests about their situation is that of the interaction of Benjamin 'Lanky' Manton, erroneously referred to in the articles as 'Mankey' and his reaction to the latest push from the Board to close Coranderrk and relocate its residents to Lake Tyers Aboriginal station. The writer, identified as C.C., notes that the 'veteran aborigine, is an extraordinarily emotional being' that 'can be studied at the Coranderrk station'.

THE LAST OF THE TRIBES. (By C.C. in Melbourne "Age.")
He crouches and buries his face on his knees.
And hides in the dark of his hair;
For he cannot look up to the storm smitten trees.
Or think of the loneliness there;
Of the loss and the loneliness there.

Kendall wrote his poem, "The Last of His Tribe," fifty years ago, but a few members of the aboriginal race still linger. The poet scorned realism and gave rein to his delicate fancy. While the veteran aborigine is an extraordinarily emotional being, he is not given to dreaming sadly of the days that have flown or of the "honey-voiced woman." who watched "like a mourner for him." He can be studied at the Coranderrk station. Despite his frequent contention that his allowance of one pound of fresh beef per day – double the ration given to the soldier at the battle front – is a wretchedly inadequate meat supply, he laughs as often and as heartily as any other person in the Commonwealth.

Walking up the long drive from the hot and dusty Coranderrk-road, you see the first group amongst the little cottages that cluster about the homestead on the bank of the Badger River. There are half a dozen men lying prone or squatting on the ground, with as many black little children and dogs tumbling in the dust about them. There is something in the centre of the group that rivets the men's eyes. Coming closer, it is found to be a draughts board, on which two dark half-castes are playing an absorbing game. Save for the occasional cries of the children or a yelp from the dogs there is perfect silence. Suddenly the elder of the players make a mistake. He makes a move that gains him one piece and loses him three.

The effect is sudden and striking. Every member of the group except the defeated "Herd Laddie" is immediately convulsed with paroxysms of shrieking laughter. Old Mankey, the squat, barefooted aborigine of seventy-five, rolls head over heels two or three times, clawing the air in the violence of his merriment. Realising the presence of a stranger, he sits up and raises a fat, shiny, white-fringed face.
"What's all the laughing about?"
Mankey points to the draughts board and goes off again.
Nearly all writers on the aborigines have indicated their keen sense of the ridiculous and childlike mirthfulness. Long contact with the white race has not, in this respect, changed the character of the survivors.

While a second game is in progress two or three black or dark men walk out of the little houses with the light, but dogged-tread of the aborigine, each of them carrying a boomerang. They stand in the clear space, and the weapons are soon whizzing through the air in spirals. Old Mankey enters his cottage and comes out with a boomerang of special size and polish. He has passed from gay to grave, from lively to severe. Apparently he has a reputation for exceptional skill, and the other aborigines stop to watch him. He hurls the big boomerang from him at the level of his shoulder. It flies horizontally, as if with gathering speed, and, mounting into the air, turns a complete circle, high above him. "Come back here," he solemnly says, pointing to the ground near his bare, leathery feet. But Mankey has made a miscalculation. The boomerang makes another wide sweep, and striking the foliage of a tall tree, stops there. The victim is now the old aboriginal. Those who have watched him yell with laughter and hold their sides. The defeated draughts player, who rose to his feet at the beginning of the performance now throws himself to the ground, shouting and shaking, and rolls for a dozen yards, holding his head with both hands. The humor is infectious, and the visitor laughs loudly, in spite of himself. If he be conceited enough to think that this boomerang throwing is a demonstration in his honor he soon understands his mistake. He is surrounded by the throwers, who say, "Buy it boomerang, five shillin'"; "Dis one two shillin'"; "Good one dis ten shillin.'" They are all keen traders, and some of them pretty rapacious "profiteers."

Mr. and Mrs. Robarts, who are in charge of the station, and have shown tact and judgment in its management, introduce a fine, dark, strapping type of half-caste as "Russell." He smiles his

compliments, and slinks away rapidly alter a lost boomerang, looking from side to side like a pointer, vaulting fences or other obstacles in his path with the spring and grace of an athlete. His record shows that he must be over sixty years old, yet he is as upright, strong and limber as most men at thirty. Having recovered his boomerang Russell cymes back and leads to his cottage, where his wife, a "dark woman of superb physique from Queensland, is busy in the kitchen. Russell is evidently a sort of chieftain. The walls of the little front room are covered with boomerangs, spears, nullahs, '"bummers," grass baskets, throwing sticks, &c, and they are displayed with a view to trade. Mankey again makes his appearance outside with a couple of fire sticks and a few shreds of stringy bark to earn a few pence by making a fire. Others gather about him and laugh at his efforts, but as soon as he produces a blaze they are put to confusion.

"You look to me," says the stranger, addressing Russell, "to be one of our old aboriginal runners." Russell dives into another room and returns with a weekly paper. "You look." he says, "you see about me there." Reference to the sporting columns discloses a discussion as to who was the fastest printer the world has known. One correspondent compares the records of Hutchens and Samuels, and concludes that the runners of today cannot compare with the champions of the past. "Old Billy Russell," he says, "who won the first Botany Handicap of £300, and has been at the Coranderrk station for many years, could beat most of the present day runners over fifty yards, even now."[100]

Russell beams with pride at the reading. He enters upon a most animated yet strangely simple account of his running performances, with special reference to his victory in the big race at Sydney. He illustrates his excited story with demonstrations as to how he got on the mark, how he got off and how he finished. He tells how the Riverina squatter for whom he was a stockman, took him to Sydney, clothed and fed him, and ran him through the pack every morning: how he met the well-backed white man in the final heat, refused to have even a rub down, gave the white four yards' start and was ahead within a second or two of pistol fire. Then Russell laughs, and tells how his backers took him away from the ground in "a cab like a box, with a man sitting up behind," filled his pockets with money, and gave him fully one-half of the first prize. Next, other fleet aborigines are recalled Russell claims to have been related to most of them and the conversation seems likely to occupy the afternoon.

The aborigines are emotional in other ways than the display of uncontrollable merriment. Some time ago a revivalist missioner obtained permission to preach to the people of the Coranderrk station, and he exercised an amazing influence. He soon departed, but his works lived after him. A number of the blacks and half castes gathered several times a day and during the night to engage in prayer and singing. The man who prayed worked himself into a violent frenzy. The others shouted responses, swayed and thumped. They claimed to "hear voices." They mutter with what they said were "strange tongues." and refused to do the work assigned to them. The white men, they declared, "lived after the flesh." while they were "of the spirit." Those who could read expounded the Bible to others, and gave directions according to what they thought to be its teachings. It took firm control to prevent the pandemonium from becoming something worse.

100 An article in the *Weekly Times* (3/8/1918) noted that Russell hailed from Maloga, a mission station on the New South Wales side of the Murray River near Moama.

When Waddy-Nullah was asked to milk a cow on Sunday he turned up the Ten Commandments and refused; but he came for his share of the milk on Sunday night. His attention was drawn to Luke 14-"Which of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightaway pull him out on the Sabbath day?" Waddy-Nullah was confused. Biblical exegesis did not seem to be quite so easy.

The Professor at the breakfast table says that all the new religions and superstitions that have afflicted America have included amongst their devotees one horse jockey, or one active pugilist. It was notable that at Coranderrk the two men who had in their time been professional foot runners were not affected by the religious frenzy and helped to restore order.

If there be a desire to see a Coranderrk man exhibit emotionalism in still another way it is only necessary to tell him that he is about to be shifted to Lake Tyers, Gippsland. Old Mankey stands erect with blazing eyes, and raises his voice in a torrent of wild protest until it is almost a yell. "What right," he shouts, "you take it away from here? Eh? What right you take it? Eh? You no break the law. Might as well murder. Queen Victoria and Graham Berry, gib blacks dis place, and it belongs dem." "Well, if you don't go they may stop your rations." Mankey's indignation, almost suffocates him. He says that the whites have taken the blacks' country, and must support them until there is not one left. "How you like be shifted to Germany?" he asks.

The half-caste is not so excitable. "Some not civilised at Lake Tyers," he says; "we don't want our children to go back; we want them to go forward." There is no doubt that the Government's decision to maintain only one aborigines' station has caused much agitation, but if the visitor shows a disposition to have another look at the boomerangs it is forgotten in the desire to take advantage of the passing minute (*Cairns Post*, 19/1/1918).

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6 William Barak and Coranderrk Tourism

From the late 1870s until his death in 1903, William Barak was one of Coranderrk's most influential and well-known residents, and became something of an attraction to visitors to the settlement whether they be children, dignitaries, or researchers keen to learn more about traditional Aboriginal life. Ethel Shaw, who knew Barak well, has confirmed that 'Vistors to the Mission were very interested in Barak, and his descriptions of his early life, and the meeting with Batman. Many eminent people visited Coranderrk, among whom was the late Lord Roseberry, who visited Australia when a young man. He was very interested in Barak and the work among the Aborigines. Barak often related the legends of his tribe. His graphic descriptions made them very interesting to his listeners' (Shaw, 1949: 25). Another who took a great interest in Barak was Sir Henry Loch, and when he was Governor of Victoria, he would ask Joseph Shaw to bring Barak and Dick of the Goulburn tribe, to Melbourne to meet important dignitaries Loch was hosting at Government House. After lunching with the Vice-Regal party, all went into the garden for an exhibition of boomerang and spear throwing, and fire-making. Barak used to chuckle with amusement when describing the efforts of their Excellencies to throw the boomerang, to the residents of Coranderrk, who were keenly interested in all details of their visits (Shaw, 1949: 26).

By the 1880s Barak had become something of a special identity at Coranderrk – many people visited the station to meet him. In today's terminology he would be described as a 'living treasure'. Shirley Wiencke (1984: 4) in her biographical study of William Barak has noted that 'In his latter years Barak became something of a storyteller, speaking slowly and very quietly. Interested visitors to Coranderrk enjoyed hearing the Old Chief talking in his halting English about camp life in the early days'. Wiencke (1984: 79) has summarized his status as a tourism attraction:

> As the last chief of his tribe, and one of the very few remaining of the original Aboriginal people, his link with early European settlement held strong fascination and appeal. He had become a popular figure with the press and government officials, and to the many people who visited Coranderrk. With his white hair, and long white beard, he gained added dignity. People came to Coranderrk especially to be entertained with his stories of the past, and with his demonstration of native skills.

In part Barak's special identity may be attributed to skills as a storyteller and his longevity given that he was born in the 1820s, possibly in 1824, he had lived through some of the most critical moments in his peoples's immediate history – the arrival of John Batman in 1835 and the subsequent establishment of Melbourne; he had attended Langhorne's mission on the Yarra from 1837–9; he had lived through the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate (1839–49) and formed an enduring relationship with the local assistant protector and later Guardian of Aborigines William Thomas; and he had been a member of the Native Police Corps. Alice Davies, a local Healesville friend of Barak's recalled he was 'as a gifted storyteller, sitting outside his house telling stories

of the old days in a slow, gentle voice, to interested visitors to the station' (Wiencke, 1984: 83).

William Barak was the son of Bebejan (aka Jerrum Jerrum) a ngurungaeta (clan head or leading elder) of the Wurundjeri-willam patriline that belonged to the Yarra River at Heidelberg, Yering, and from there to Mt Baw Baw. A ngurungaeta or clan head was a senior man who represented patrilineages or families within clans and had effective authority within their own group and were their rightful representatives in external affairs. Barak told Howitt that 'A ngurungaeta was like a Governor' (Barwick, 1984: 108). Some clan-heads were so eminent that their wishes were obeyed by all clans within their tribal or language group. Billibellary (Barak's great uncle), for example, until his death in 1846, was the paramount Woiwurrung ngurungaeta. Simon Wonga, the oldest son of Billibellary, became ngurungaeta after his father's death, and remained in this role until he died in 1874 when his cousin Barak, next in influence to Wonga, became the sole ngurungaeta of the Woiwurrung. In the early 1880s Barak advised Alfred William Howitt that after his (Barak's) death, three young Kulin men would become ngurungaeta: his Woiwurrung nephew Wandoon (Robert Wandin, 1854–1908); the Daungwurrung Birdarak (Thomas Bamfield, 1839/44–1893), and the Wathawurrung/Djadjawurrung Thomas Dunolly (1856–1923) (Barwick, 1984: 124) (see Figure 6.1).

There were two Woiwurrung men who were members of the native police corps with very similar sounding names: Beruke aka Gellibrand (who died in 1852), a member of the Gunung-willam baluk (the Woiwurrung clan centered on Mt Macedon) whose name was derived from the kangaroo rat (Bride, 1898: 72); and William Barak (who died in 1903) the subject of this chapter. In early sources William Barak's name is also spelt Bair-uk, Beruk, and Berak. Wiencke (1984) translates it as 'white grub found in trees'. Blake (1991: 107) confirms that bear-uk is grub and barruuk is kangaroo rat. Robinson confirms the latter name in numerous journal entries (15 October 1840 'At his birth an animal of this description ran past and he was so named'; 25 October 1840; 24 April 1845; Clark, 2014b: 307, 383, 410, 461). In William Thomas's journal Barak first appears as 'Barek Billy' (3 September 1840) v.1: 206; Billy (Baruk) listed in 1852 census of Yarra tribe (see Stephens, 2014 v.2: 538); January 1861: Baruk (see Stephens, 2014 V.3: 330); March 1862: Bearuk (see Stephens, 2014 v. 3: 375. In terms of Thomas's east Kulin vocabulary notes, he has beruke, ber-uke as kangaroo rat; and bearuk, beerk, bear-uk as grub, caterpillar (see Stephens, 2014 V. 4: 138).[101]

101 In August 1839 in correspondence between Robinson and Sievwright, Robinson identified Barrac as one of a party of 15 Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung males on a war expedition to the Wathawurrung people of the Geelong district to avenge the death of one of two of their tribe by the Wathawurrung (see MacFarlane, 1998: 342). This may be a reference to Barak rather than Beruke.

Figure 6.1: King Billy & a Mate, Coranderrk Station. William H. Ferguson Photographer, Cooper & Co., slide maker, ca. 1900, glass lantern slide, State Library of Victoria, Pictures Collection, H89.266/10. Ned Mclennan on left, William Barak on the right.

Biographer Patricia Marcard has noted the following of Barak:
He was regarded with more romance than reason by contemporaries as an innocent witness to the first European intruders, William Buckley and John Batman. He spent his childhood in traditional Aboriginal fashion but with tribal dislocation; after Melbourne's settlement he was not properly initiated. Relations invested him with the possum shawl, necklet, waist string and nose peg of manhood in a brief ceremony, but much of tribal lore was left to be picked up informally. He received a brief taste of education at Rev. G. Langhorne's mission school in 1837–39, and was possibly one of the more sober members of Captain Henry Dana's Native Police Force.

With his Gippsland-born first wife Lizzie, he was among the first group of Goulburn Aboriginals who settled at Acheron in 1859, hoping to have the area reserved. After much official indecision Coranderrk, near Healesville, was gazetted and he settled there permanently in 1863, in a 'neat little cottage and garden, most tidy and comfortable'. Barak worked for a small wage on the station farm and acquired a few horses. Further schooling and religious instruction were undertaken; he could read but not write. He was baptized, confirmed, and took a second wife Annie 'of the Lower Murray' (Lizzie died before 1863) in a publicized Presbyterian ceremony in 1865. The fate of his family was typical of the time; two infants died of gastro-enteritis, David and Annie of consumption. When he married Sarah (Kurnai) on 7 June 1890 he was the oldest man at Coranderrk and only full-blood survivor of his tribe.

> In the late 1870s when management of Aboriginal affairs came under vigorous public criticism Barak emerged as a respected spokesman. Until his death he was the acknowledged leader at Coranderrk and a liaison between officialdom and the native population. His contact with such people as Graham Berry, Alfred Howitt, Mrs Ann Bon and Alfred Deakin, his petitions and public appearances were important spurs to action, especially the government inquiry of 1881. He outlined a plan for autonomous communities under Coranderrk's first manager, John Green: 'give us this ground and let us manage here ourselves ... and no one over us ... we will show the country we can work it and make it pay and I know it will'. His white champions did not share this faith and the scheme was never fostered, although Coranderrk was retained.
>
> While adapting his own life to the changing conditions Barak maintained a remarkably balanced tie with his own culture. He was an accomplished painter in ochre and charcoal, 'a baritone of average compass', and a source on Aboriginal ways for both tourists and serious anthropologists.Lorimer Fison drew on his knowledge extensively. He was Howitt's chief informant for central and south-west Victoria and elsewhere. Large parts of Howitt's *Native Tribes of South East Australia* (London, 1904) rest heavily on his knowledge and opinion. Howitt invited him to Bairnsdale in 1882 and his notes of these interviews cover a wide range of customs, beliefs and kinship patterns, discussed with respect and deep feeling by Barak yet evaluated maturely against his Christian faith.
>
> He died on 15 August 1903. In 1934 the local Australian Natives' Association erected a marble monument donated by Mrs Bon in Healesville's main street. This was later defaced by vandals, stored in the municipal offices, and finally placed above the heap of stones which marks his grave at Coranderrk.
>
> Those who knew Barak described him unanimously as wise and dignified, with penetrating eyes and firm principles. The Board for the Protection of Aborigines noted him 'the most intelligent ... remarkable black'. However, to the ordinary people he remained a romantic curiosity on picture postcards; erect and bearded, wearing sandshoes and a long coat, a Bible in one gloved hand and a boomerang in the other.[102]

In the early 1880s Alfred William Howitt began to record as much information from him as he could gather. Large sections of Howitt's 1904 ethnography are based on information he gleaned from Barak.

Wiencke (1984: 83) explains how Barak had become close to Sir Henry Loch, the Governor of Victoria from 1884. Loch was in the habit of inviting Barak to come to Government House to meet important visitors and after lunching they would retire to the garden where Barak would give them an exhibition of boomerang throwing, spear throwing, and fire-making. There was also a market for Barak's art work and Patten's (1994: 6) assessment of this demand is that it 'lay in European interest in the way in which Aboriginal life had been lived. In addition to corroborees, Barak drew hunting and traditional fight scenes'. Barak's work became part of Coranderrk's

102 Patricia Marcard, 'Barak, William (1824–1903)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/barak-william-2930/text4239, published in hardcopy 1969, accessed online 20 August 2014.

tourism economy, but it was not always made for purchase, they were also made for gift giving (Patten, 1994: 7). Barak made and decorated traditional objects which he presented as gifts – for example the wooden fire lighters and boomerangs he made for Baessler (see below).

Barak also became friendly with local families in the Healesville district. One such family was the the Leuba (Herr) family – the parents of Natalie Robarts, who served as the last matron of Coranderrk from 1909 until its closure in 1924. The Herr family took a great interest in Barak, the 'last aboriginal king'. Anna Leuba (nee Herr) commissioned French artist, John Mather, to do an oil painting of Barak which she bequeathed to her son-in-law, Charles Alfred Robarts. Her daughter Natalie later presented the portrait to the National Museum, Melbourne.

The Leeper family is another Melbourne family with a Barak story in their early history – concerning a meeting of the infant Valentine Leeper, a noted activist for Aboriginal causes from the 1930s until her death in 2001, with William Barak in the latter years of his life in c. 1902. 'Another vivid story from Valentine's even earlier childhood had been recounted to her by her parents. On a family holiday at Healesville in the Yarra Valley on the outskirts of Melbourne, they had taken her with them to visit the legendary William Barak, artist, spokesman for his people and leader of the Aboriginal groups surviving in the Coranderrk reserve, and he had cradled the one-year old Valentine in his arms'(Poynter, 2008: 4). Given that Valentine Leeper was born on 14 February 1901, this encounter with Barak had to have occurred in 1902, the year before his death on 15 August 1903.

Barak was also friendly with Guillaume and Ada de Pury at Yerinberg at Coldstream. Baron de Pury was the Swiss Consul to Victoria from the 1870s and many European and English visitors were entertained at Yerinberg. It was at Yering that Barak met a French visitor in 1888 named Oscar Comettant.

6.1 Oscar Comettant, 1888

French journalist Jean Pierre Oscar Comettant (1819–1898) was another official visitor to the Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition of 1888 who took advantage of his time in Victoria to visit Coranderrk (see Figure 6.2).[103] Comettant was appointed by the French government to act as juror in all matters connected with art at the exhibition. Whilst in Victoria he delivered a lecture on journalism (*Table Talk*, 12/10/1888); and reflected on the Melbourne Cup (*The Argus*, 7/11/1888). During this time he sent letters to *Le Temps* in which he described his excursions and experiences – these were often published in English in Australian newspapers – for example, his excursion to the Black Spur which first appeared in *Le Temps* was later published in *The Argus*

103 Joseph Shaw was superintendent in 1888.

Figure 6.2: Oscar Comettant.[104]

(6/4/1889) with the title 'A Frenchman in Victoria'. At the end of this article, Comettant discussed meeting 'Old Berak' at Yering:

> ... the travellers returned to Yering, where they had the honour of an interview with old Berak, who represented himself to be the last surviving son of the chief of the Yarra Yarra tribe, formerly the lords of the site upon which Melbourne was built, and of the district for twenty miles round; and in a second letter M. Comettant relates all the information he was enabled to acquire from this source with respect to the aboriginal inhabitants of Victoria.

Once returned to France he published his account of his journeys in Victoria as *Au Pays Des Kangourous et Des Mines D'or*[105] in 1890 in French. This work was translated into English for the first time in 1980.

The Argus (15/4/1890) reported on his French publication:

> Among the foreign visitors to the Centennial Exhibition in Melbourne was a genial old gentleman, with a white head and a young heart, who represented one of the leading newspapers in Paris. Journalist, composer, humourist, man of letters, critic, and brave garcon, M. Oscar Comettant became a general favourite with his brethren of the press, as well as among his compatriots in this city, and on his return to Paris he arranged the notes he had mode during his stay in these colonies, and has published them in a single volume, under the title of *The Land of Kangaroos and Gold Mines*. The book reflects the diameter of the writer. It is lively and entertaining, touches upon all sorts of subjects, glances airily from one to another, and is as frank, fluent, and un-reserved as his own conversation.

104 http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-qT258aVzQQc/UGLDYGxmBMI/AAAAAAAAB0w/GM8vq0pclQw/s1600/JEAN-P~1.JPG

105 Literally 'In the land of kangaroos and gold mines'

The Australasian (26/4/1890), in reporting on Comettant's publication noted that he had visited Coranderrk:

> Although M. Comettant's duties as one of the representatives of France and as a juror at the Centennial Exhibition made large demands upon his time, he found leisure to visit the Black Spur, and the aboriginal station near Healesville, to inspect the vineyards at Yering and the Great Western, to see the Melbourne Cup run for at Flemington, to make the circuit of Port Phillip in a yacht, to do the "slums "of this city, to examine our educational system, and to study our social life.

Comettant's first excursion in Victoria was to Lilydale and Healesville 'in search of natural wonders'. He took a train to Lilydale, where he took lunch at a hotel, after which he took a coach to the Black Spur. His first stop was the property of the Baron William de Pury where he visited their vineyards and cellars. His party spent the night at Healesville. Next on the itinerary was Fernshaw, the Watts River, and then they returned to de Pury's. *En route* the coach encountered William Barak (Berak), and in his journal he published a lengthy account of his meeting (see Appendix 6.1).

6.2 Arthur Baessler, 1892

German anthropologist Arthur Baessler (1857–1907) visited Coranderrk and met Barak in December 1892 (see Figure 6.3).[106] Joseph Shaw was superintendent of Coranderrk at this time. Baessler published a chapter on Barak in his 1895 German publication – *Sudsee Bilder* which translates as 'South Sea Pictures'. Baessler studied Natural Sciences, Geography and Anthropology in Heidelberg, Munich and Berlin and deepened his knowledge on non-literate ethnic groups. Between 1887 and 1889 he travelled throughout New Guinea and from 1891 until 1893 he travelled throughout Australia. He then travelled through New Zealand, Polynesia, and Peru between 1896 and 1898. During his field work he collected a large number of cultural objects and ethnological data including mythological and cosmological narratives from ethnic groups. When he returned to Germany he deposited his collection in ethnological and anthropological museums in Berlin, Dresden, and Stuttgart, and established a foundation for anthropological research into Oceania.

Table Talk (23/12/1892) discussed his visit to Melbourne:

> Dr. A. Baessler, of Berlin, one of the leading authorities on ethnology and anthropology, is at present staying in Melbourne, en route to Tasmania, New Zealand, the South Pacific Islands and Chicago. Dr. Baessler is a member of the Imperial German Academy of Naturalists, and a fellow of the Berlin Geodetic Society. He is not, however, a scientist of the cabinet only. He has travelled

106 He returned to Australia in February 1905 staying at the Hotel Metropole in Sydney (*Sunday Times* 5/2/1905)

Figure 6.3: Arthur Baessler.[107]

> wide and far to elucidate problems of the origin of species and the difference of races by actual observation and practical research. Since 1887 he has visited Ceylon, British India, Burmah, Siam, China, Corea, Japan, the Malay Archipelago, the Sulu and Phillipine Islands, New Guinea, the Bismarck Islands, New Hebiides, Fiji, Northern Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, for the purpose of studying the manner and customs of the aboriginal natives. During this year he has re-visited Ceylon to explore certain ruins, which, owing to the rainy season setting in, he had previously been unable to inspect. He has also gone to Singapore, Sumatra, West Borneo, Malacca and Selangor. He had to leave the Straits Settlements again without being thoroughly explored owing to the revolt at Pahang. He then went to German New Guinea, and there he was seized with malarial fever. In consequence, he returned to Singapore, and went from thence to the sanatorium in the hills of Dutch Java. His health was too much impaired, however, to stay in the tropics, and upon urgent medical advice to go to a more temperate climate he decided to visit Australia. Dr. Baessler, however, could not resist the opportunity to revisit some of his old haunts on the way, despite intermittent attacks of fever. After studying the Maoris in New Zealand he intends to visit Samoa/Tonga and the Sandwich Islands. When he reaches Chicago the doctor intends to attend the scientific congresses to be held in connection with the World's Fair, and, will probably deliver a paper upon some of the results of his long researches. The doctor's collection of curiosities of native workmanship in all Eastern countries is wonderfully complete and interesting.

Baessler's work was the basis for an exhibition in 2005 entitled *Traces towards four Coranderrk drawings in Berlin store-room* by Tom Nicholson which presented traces from two related actions undertaken in Berlin and Melbourne.

107 http://www.germananthropology.com/cms/media/cache/image/portrait-detail/237/portrait_4f31e9afaf84d.jpg

> The second Action for 7pm Saturday 3 December 1892, has been undertaken in Berlin. Advertisements have been placed in theTageszeitung and The Age, Melbourne's major daily newspaper, and will appear simultaneously on Thursday 26 October. The advertisement centres on the meeting in 1892 between the Berlin collector and ethnographer, Arthur Baessler, and the Aboriginal political leader, activist, and artist William Barak. A Wurundjeri man, Barak grew up in the area now occupied by Melbourne, and as a boy he famously witnessed the arrival of John Batman and Batman's attempt to expropriate Aboriginal territory. By the 1890s, Barak and his community had been driven off their lands and Barak was living at Coranderrk, an Aboriginal reserve not far from Melbourne. It was here that Baessler met Barak, an event recorded vividly and enthusiastically in Baessler's diaries. Baessler recorded a fragment of Barak's autobiography, including repeated references to William Buckley and Buckley's attempts to counsel indigenous people on European norms after he had rejoined white society. Baessler photographed Barak in several different portraits. He also bought four drawings by Barak, who had become a famous artist, recording Wurundjeri histories and culture in watercolour and pencil. These four drawings are held in the collection of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin-Dahlem, where Nicholson recently viewed the drawings in one of the Museum's store-rooms.[108]

Baessler's work on Barak has rarely been utilised in the Coranderrk literature – most probably because it has never been translated into English (see Appendix 6.2). Patten (1994) is one of the few to cite his work noting Baessler's observation of the print of Queen Victoria Barak had hung above his chimney, as well as quoting Baessler's description of some of the gift items that Barak had presented to him, especially fire lighters and boomerangs. Lally (2008: 192, 200) confirms that some of the Aboriginal ethnographic items that Baessler commissioned, such as drawings that document a coroboree and a boomerang by William Barak, were donated by Baessler in 1893 to the Berlin Ethnological Museum. Schade (2000) has studied Baessler's photographic archive held in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin and her paper reproduces four photographs taken by Baessler at Coranderrk including one of 'King William Barak' and 'Sera Barak'.

6.3 R.H. Mathews, 1903

R.H. Mathews (1903) in his article 'Notes on Some Native Dialects of Victoria' mentioned visiting Coranderrk 'several times' and how he always took the opportunity of meeting with 'Billy Bērak'. His most recent visit was in April 1903 some four months before Barak's death:

> I have been several times at the Aboriginal Station at Coranderrk, and on each occasion visited 'Billy Bērak' at his hut there, and obtained from him all available information respecting the language and initiation ceremonies of his people. He was a merry old fellow, and frequently sang some of his native chants for my benefit. Incidentally he told me that he had been several years

108 http://www.tomn.net/plattformpressreleaseenglish.htm

> in the Police Force as a 'tracker – that he had been thrice married, but had no children living. He remembered the visit of Batman to Port Phillip Bay and the Yarra river, although himself only a lad at the time. My last visit to Coranderrk was in April of the present year. Poor old 'Bērak' was not in good health, but I persuaded him to sit on a chair in front of his hut while a photographic acquaintance[109] took a picture of him. As this is the last photograph of the last man of the Yarra river tribe, I submit it for publication (Mathews, 1903: 245–6).

Thomas (2011: 97) has reproduced the photograph of William Barak published in Mathew's (1903) article.

6.4 M.L. Hutchinson, 1903

M.L. Hutchinson was a Melbourne-based publisher and bookseller. In this article in the *Examiner*, it is revealed that he had visited Coranderrk expressly to meet with William Barak. From Barak and others he obtained information on hunting kangaroos, wombats, and ducks.

> DEVICES OF ABORIGINES.
> Mr. M.L. Hutchinson, of Melbourne, contributes to "Chambers's Journal" for November an article on the aborigines of Victoria. Some of his facts have been obtained from blacks resident at Coranderrk, Upper Yarra ... "My principal object in visiting Coranderrk" remarks Mr. Hutchinson, "was to see King William Barek, aged about 70, the last of the once famous Yarra tribe." On being asked to do so, King Billy showed how fire could be made by rubbing sticks together. Conversation followed. "At one period of the talk it suddenly seemed to dawn on the old king, who could not speak as volubly as the others, that he was being pushed into the background, as it were, by the superior fluency of his mates. We were talking about native game and methods of hunting, when suddenly there was heard an exact imitation of the cry of the swan, followed by the quack of the duck. The king had asserted himself, and drawn our undivided attention to him." (*Examiner*, 29/12/1903).

6.5 Sister Agnes (Agnes Row), 1911

In the preface to her work, *Fairy Tales Told in the Bush*, Sister Agnes (1911: 7) noted:

> Of these Fairy Tales told to children in the Australian bush, "The Magic Gun" and "The Underground River," are original, but the others have been brought from the old country, not in book form, but in the memory of a lover of fairies and children. "The Origin of the Yarra Yarra" was told to the writer by old King Barak, the last King of the Yarra tribe, a few days before his death. These tales, as told here, charmed the writer in the "Sixties" when Melbourne was a place of bush and swamp. They now charm little slum children in the so—called "slum parts" of the city of Melbourne, "The Palace of Truth" and "The Magic Gun" being always asked for when stories are to be told.

109 This was H.E. Percy.

Lucy Sussex (2013) has undertaken research into Sister Agnes and *Fairy Tales Told in the Bush*:

> The depiction of Barak is sympathetic, showing him at the reserve in Corranderrk [sic], surrounded by white people, a tourist attraction. He complains his visitors are too greedy, for after he has performed for them, his reward is pennies, rather than 'baccy'. A boy offers him a shilling for a story, and so 'the old man told the small white boy the story of the Magic Gun in quavering voice, sometimes scarcely to be heard, for he was very frail'. The story is a true hybrid. The gun of the title is Barak's, but it belonged to the convict William Buckley, a liminal figure between black and white cultures. It has magical properties and when the boy returns later at night and steals it – he tries to use it on a bunyip.
>
> Sister Agnes's book received at least one public notice, in the *Fitzroy City Press* in 1911. It reveals she had major responsibilities as Superintendent of the Diocesan Mission to the Streets and Lanes of Melbourne. She was also Superintendent of St Mark's Mothers' Union, Fitzroy. The paper notes that the author is 'The Sister Agnes' who when 'ordained for her mission career parted with her surname forever.'
>
> In 1894 Agnes Row (b. 1866) joined the community as a probationer, the first Australian-born member of the Community of the Holy Name (CHN), an Anglican order of women, who actively ministered to slum-dwellers providing medical care, refuges for women, education, and Christianity. She had been born in Campbell's Creek, Victoria, the second-youngest of the surviving five children of Richard Row and Frances Perry, nee Anset, who died in 1872 at thirty-nine. The Row's eldest, Frances, was of an age to take on the responsibility of her younger siblings, but she too died, in 1888. Of the children, only son Arthur married, in 1885.
>
> The early 1890s, when Agnes Row joined the community, was a period of great suffering, the end of Marvellous Melbourne. The city experienced its own crisis, the collapse of the land boom and depression. It could have engaged her sympathies, leading to the religious vocation. In Anglican families of the 'low' or Evangelical persuasion, a daughter's yen for sisterhood was regarded with dismay, if not outright prohibition. Some sisters had to flee their family homes, or else wait until their parents died. Agnes Row, with one or both of her parents dead, her brother married and living in the country, may have had more freedom.
>
> In 1896 she became a deaconess, Sister Agnes. She would be put in charge of St George's Mission Hall, as the Order expanded its activities. Here she found her metier, ministering to boys. Sister Eleanor described her in an obituary: 'A born teacher, with a wonderful flair for managing boys... the ease with which she could interest and keep in order a hall full of usually unruly youths was a joy to see, and something never to be forgotten.' ... She died in March 1930.[110]

Other than Sussex's (2013) essay and the inclusion of the two legends in Clark (2014a), Sister Agnes's work on Barak has received little attention. In terms of Barak-sourced stories, Wiencke (1984) reproduced three legends first published in Shaw (1949) – one on how the Yarra River was formed – which differs from the story published by Sister Agnes (Clark, 2014a)

110 https://griffithreview.com/articles/told-in-the-bush/

Shaw explains that Barak took delight in talking over "olden times". She recalled the times her parents invited Barak to join them for Sunday dinner: 'His kind old face used to beam with pleasure as he and my father talked over Aboriginal affairs' (Shaw, 1949: 26). It is quite clear from reading Shaw's reminiscences that Barak had a particularly close relationship with her father – Barak called Joseph Shaw 'Gahgook' – a Woiwurrung word meaning 'one who is reverenced and respected'. When the Shaws visited England in 1903 during a six-month leave of absence from Coranderrk, Barak's health deteriorated and he longed to see the Shaws before he died. He died on 15 August 1903 whilst the Shaws were overseas.

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Appendix 6.1 Oscar Comettant's Entry on William Barak

Comettant (1980:90–98) published the following entry on William Barak:

> Still in good spirits, we went back to Monsieur de Pury's, where we had the luckiest of encounters for travellers as curious as ourselves.
>
> We saw there his ex-Highness, old Berak, last son of the chief of the Yarra-Yarras, whose territory had run from Deep Creek to the Yarra. On this land belonging to the chief of the tribe, of whom Berak was the rightful heir, the whole 32-kilometre city of Melbourne and suburbs had been built.
>
> Berak was black, a little above average height, and aged about sixty-five. He had a long white beard of beautifully fine hair. His hair, as straight as a white man's, was beginning to go grey. He had a wide forehead, a Grecian nose, big, gentle, and very expressive eyes, finely-drawn lips, a round chin, and a regular, oval face. When he laughed he showed the most handsome teeth that ever adorned a human jaw. At the age of sixty-five this ex-prince had all his thirty-two teeth completely intact, and all beautifully white and regular. In profile Berak's face would rival the beauty of the Greek profiles we see in Hellenic statues. Berak was also very dignified in his bearing, and possessed an innate pride that his misfortunes had never shaken. He walked erectly and looked one straight in the eye without timidity or ostentation.
>
> Obviously Berak was nothing like the frightful pictures of the Australian natives used to illustrate the still small number of books written about Australia. It is also true that this son of Rebethem (his noble father's name)[111] was remarkably handsome for a man of his race.
>
> Does anyone really know exactly what kind of men the Australian blacks are, and what their moral value is? Physically, there are some who are more or less perfect specimens; all are very strong and unusually supple. They have no equal in running, jumping, climbing trees, diving, and swimming, and are as good as the best hunting dogs when it comes to picking up and following a scent. These talents and abilities were enough for all their needs when they were masters in Australia, and it is not surprising that they stopped there. Necessity, it has been rightly said, is the mother of industry. And industry with them was contained within the bounds of their necessities.
>
> Yet appellations such as cowardly, cruel, and treacherous have not been spared them; this is what the Count of Beauvoir has to say in his book on Australia: 'A group has just passed, a group of fetid and horrible men and women, with skins as black as crocodiles, dirty, frizzy hair, and degenerate, bestial faces; these are Aborigines, with their small, puny and ignoble bodies, more horrible than all the monkeys in the world.'[112] I have visited a hostel for Aborigines, run by the Government of Victoria. Certainly I did not find the inmates handsome, and some were quite

111 Other variant spellings of Barak's father's name include Bebejan, Bebejern and Jerrum Jerrum (see Barwick, 1984: 124).

112 De Beauvoir, L., 1870, *A Voyage Round the World, Vol. 1 Australia*, John Murray, London. Comettant is obviously translating from a French copy, as the English edition of De Beauvoir's text reads slightly differently. The reference refers to a group of Aboriginal people seen in Melbourne.

ugly, but I saw none that corresponded to the picture drawn by the above writer, in spite of his celebrity. As for their morals, I think they have been truly observed by another traveller who wrote: 'According to observations recorded over twenty years, by all the directors and inspectors instituted by the Administration, the Australian natives are endowed with qualities that could serve as the basic elements of a moral character of the highest order. They have a quick intelligence, and study and observe unknown objects with great skill; their powers of imitation are extraordinary; they are able to represent objects in their exact proportions, and when they look at a drawing, not a detail escapes them. Their faculties of perception are highly developed, but the absence of reflective powers, and particularly the inability to follow ideas through, is the main obstacle to their civilisation – a serious obstacle, but not an insurmountable one.'[113]

I would add that, insofar as I have been able to observe the Australian Negroes, who have become rare in Victoria, they have that sense of the ridiculous which can be so devastating in France. They will laugh for days over some mistake they have seen committed by a white man; and they are sometimes witty. Not even Voltaire himself could have replied with such droll ingenuity as a New South Wales native did to an Englishman who was being very difficult to please:

'You are an idiot,' he told him. 'You can do none of the things we whites can.'

'Excuse me,' replied the Aborigine, hiding a mocking smile, as well as he could, 'We blacks can imitate you whites when it comes to drinking, smoking, lying, stealing, or doing nothing at all.'

The author of *Advance Australia* quotes an anecdote which proves how much the blacks appreciate a joke and laugh heartily at it.[114] Having talked of the natural ferocity of the natives, and noted what risks a white man runs when he finds himself alone among them, especially if he is not on horseback and they can kill him without any risk, he adds:

'A farmer, travelling on horseback, found himself, upon coming out into a clearing, a few yards away from a native camp. The startled horse reared and threw his rider head over heels into the middle of the camp. The man immediately got up and burst into peals of laughter. The blacks, who were all ready to massacre him, thought he had performed a gymnastic feat combined with a good joke. They also began to laugh, and they continued long and noisily. Finally they brought back his horse, and helped him into the saddle. The farmer's presence of mind had saved him, for the natives thought they were dealing with someone who had no fear, and simply wanted to play with them. Helped by their native prudence, they spared his life.'

To come back to Berak: This exiled prince had not a penny to bless himself with. He was dressed in clothes given him by the charitable souls who also fed and sheltered him. He never asked anything of anyone; but if you slipped a coin into his hand to buy some tobacco with, he would accept it gratefully.

A few years ago the Governor of Victoria received, through the agency of Monsieur de Pury, if I am not mistaken, a petition which I regret not being able to print here, since it was a rather curious document. In it Berak revealed that his father, the chief of the Yarra-Yarra tribe, was the legiti-

113 I have not been able to locate the source of this quote.

114 Presumably: Finch-Hatton, H. (1885). *Advance Australia!: An account of Eight Years' Work, Wandering, and Amusement, in Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria*. London: W.H. Allen & Co.

mate owner of the land on which the English had founded the town of Melbourne, ignoring the rights of the Yarra-Yarras, and using force to achieve their ends. To make it quite clear, Berak had with his own hand traced out a plan of all the land that had belonged to his father.

In his request the poor black did not ask for the impossible. He philosophically accepted the accomplished events, with all their severity; but it seemed fair to him that he should be compensated for the loss of land that he was the sole heir to. The mighty Rebethem's son limited his ambitions to a mere food pension, which would enable him to live out his life in modest but honourable independence. The presumptive heir to the Yarra-Yarra crown thought, and still thinks, it unworthy of him and of those who were dispossessed with him, to be forced to die of hunger or else have recourse to public charity.

The reply given to this very honest and humble request was heart-breaking. He was told that as the land formerly belonging to his royal father was now the property of two or three hundred thousand people, who were not aware of owing him anything, he should take his hat in his hand and go begging from house to house. To this somewhat mocking suggestion Berak sadly replied that he would rather die in poverty than expose himself to being poorly received by the people whose pity he would be invoking. It seems to me that if the Queen of England knew the plight of this unhappy relic of the reigning family of the district before the arrival of the illustrious Captain Cook, she would see that the last days of poor Berak were made happier.

Berak told Monsieur de Pury that he was sure that if the town of Melbourne gave him no money it would be because they thought he would drink it all. But Berak is a sober man, whom no one has ever seen drunk. Poor, poor Berak! He often says that white men are intelligent, but perhaps he also thinks, without daring to say so, that they are also fair scoundrels. We took up a collection among ourselves which should assure Berak's tobacco supply for quite some time.

No doubt you will guess that having with me this last survivor of the Yarra-Yarra tribe, I would want to draw out of him every shred of information about the customs and habits of the Aboriginal brethren. My questionnaire was very long, and though Berak could not tell me everything I wanted to know, he at least gave me some very interesting facts.

I learnt from him that his noble and respected father did not die fighting the first invaders, but simply of old age, while still chief of his tribe.[115] He died, honoured by his people, at the foot of Yerinsberg hill,[116] beside the river near which he is buried. He was buried according to the ancient Aboriginal custom, that is wrapped up in a kangaroo skin, and bent in two by means of cords and sticks, his knees touching his chin. This position was considered to be favourable to the deceased's entry into the Yoralk or Yolalk, which means 'bright' and corresponds to the Christian notion of paradise.[117] This delightful place, this better world, was situated somewhere beyond the setting sun. Apart from this the Australian Aborigines practise no rites or fetishes. And as they also happily eat their prisoners of war, they can perhaps be considered to be totally unprejudiced. Their religion is very elementary: it is confined to a belief in the existence of a

115 Barwick (1984: 124) estimates his year of death as 1835,

116 Yeringberg Hill

117 I have not been able to confirm these words – Blake (1991) records numerous words for 'heaven' including karralk = 'rays of setting sun up which souls ascent to heaven'. Presumably yoralk is a mishearingof karralk

superior and infinite being, whom they have the good sense not to try to understand, and whom they discuss as little as possible, in order to avoid saying anything foolish, given that they do not understand him. This spirit, whom they call Booriel, has created the Yoralk for the just of this world, who should arrive there bent in two, the knees under the chin.[118] Berak firmly believed that since the Yoralk was only open to the good, Englishmen would not be admitted. And I am not the man to contradict Berak on this delicate point.

The Australian Aborigines had no horses, cattle, sheep, rabbits, hens, or turkeys, such as we know them in Europe, before the arrival of the white man. There were, and still are in some parts of Australia, a kind of wild turkey native to the country; but the natives do not cultivate the soil – they live exclusively from hunting and fishing. Besides the kangaroo their main game consisted of possums, koala bears, teal, white and coloured parrots, plus a few other birds, and black swans. They fished neither with rod nor net, but would take the fish from the surface of the water, and the eels from under rocks, by means of a spear with a hook made of kangaroo bone at the end. Berak told me without embarrassment that his father's people never dined better than when they cooked a nice fat prisoner. He remembered having eaten one in his early childhood, and told us merrily and frankly that the best part was the thigh, and the greatest delicacy was the area just inside the skin (as in pork), when the flesh was well browned. He told me, 'When we took prisoners, they had to be fed; but we preferred to feed ourselves – on them.'

Berak, as you see, was a true gourmet. While he was telling us the story I instinctively put my hands on my thighs, as if to shield them. When I asked him if the flesh of a white man was as good as that of a black, Berak replied that he had never eaten an Englishman. He also appeared to regret having missed this culinary experience. Ah well, the English devoured Berak, in a manner of speaking.

The men of Berak's father's tribe were as monogamous as possible; if they were not satisfied with one wife they would take two, but that was all. Beyond this figure they found the fair sex superfluous and a nuisance. They also looked for their female companions among neighbouring tribes, and never committed incest. Their marriages were celebrated without any ceremony other than a monstrous feast. When the wedding day was fixed, the friends of the future husband, and the intended himself, would arm themselves with spears and boomerangs, and kill off all the animals that were considered to make good eating. The only thing missing from their gargantuan repast would be fermented drinks, for they were ignorant of these – though they have come to know them only too well since colonisation. If there are few Aboriginal Australians today, it is mainly because of the whisky.

It is said, and I have also read it, that the natives of this country used to live as naked as the day they were born, without even a figleaf for decoration. Berak assured me that this was not true. Both men and women were covered in possum skins, winter and summer alike. They had no writing to communicate their thoughts, and no signs or drawings to perpetuate a memory. When they shifted camp and needed to let someone else know where they had gone to, they set up mud sticks at intervals, bent over towards the direction taken. They had no tools except a stone axe, which was sufficient for all their needs. They were able to use it with great dexterity to climb the largest and tallest trees, cutting foot and toeholds out of the trunk. Berak showed us this feat; in

118 Again, Booriel is not confirmed – perhaps it is a mishearing of Bunjil the usual Kulin word for the creator deity.

spite of his sixty-five years he climbed a tall eucalyptus with a vigorous ability that commanded all our admiration. He began by making an incision at head height; then, embracing the tree, he climbed up it until he was able to get his left toe in the little hole, which offered a very meagre platform. Berak kept himself there, however, supporting himself with his left arm while making another notch higher up. He then heaved himself up until he could get his right toe into this second step. Then, taking his axe in his left hand he made a third notch in which he put his left foot while making a fourth notch on the right side. Thus he was able to reach the lowest branches of the tree. When Berak had come down, my young French companions wanted to try it too, but were unable to succeed, even though the notches were already made and they did not have an axe to carry.

There had never been a case of suicide among the Aborigines, Berak told us. This giving in to the sorrows and difficulties of life belongs only to the people of advanced societies. If a native had some great grief, such as losing someone dear to him, he would cut the skin on his head until the blood flowed, and let it drip over the ground where the beloved person was buried.

Notions of good and bad (and consequently of justice too) being innate to all men, the natives would condemn serious wrong-doers to death. They would be executed before the assembled tribe, stuck with spears, beaten, and axed.

I do not know if they ate him afterwards, in full payment of all demands.

Although they may have been severe in their execution of justice, they were never, it seems, cruel. If, during one of their long walks from camp to camp, an old man became too weak to follow the tribe, two or three others would stop with him until he was rested enough to continue.

I asked Berak to speak to me in his own language. He did so with good grace, and his speech did not appear to me to lack euphony. Each tribe had its own tongue. No tribe would ever trespass on their neighbours' ground, so long as they were friends. They respected ownership.

They had their own medicine-doctors, just as we have ours, who would heal or fail to heal the sick by means of infusions of selected herbs, and ointments. Women in labour were helped by the older women of the tribe.

To make fire, they would rub two pieces of a special wood together, quickly and vigorously; Berak showed us that this operation is neither long nor difficult.

The predecessors of the English in Australia had no musical instruments, but they chanted songs of both love and war; Berak sang us one of each, but I was unable to tell the difference between them from the point of view of musical expression. The words were all said on the same note, without any melody or rhythm. From time to time there was just an interval of a diminished minor third, though to give some animation to the chanting Berak beat a regular time (about 120 on the metronome) with two boomerangs.

The war song expressed the certainty of victory and exalted the courage of the warrior. Berak recalled the time when he followed his father and the other warriors, chanting, and from time to time stopping. Turning towards the port of Melbourne, they said: 'O happy shores where rest those who are dear to us, we are far from you! But we shall return, beloved land!'

The love song was about an intrepid hunter who was declaring his passion to a girl from a neighbouring, friendly tribe. The young girl at first resists, then succumbs, and the lovers go arm in arm to a valley where they disappear behind some tall gum-trees, in a clump of tree-ferns. The setting may change, but the story is the same everywhere; nature is changeless.

I asked Berak if he had reigned over the tribe on the death of his father. He said no. He was only seven when the first white men appeared among the Yarra-Yarras, and when he was of an age to rule his tribe, its members were already dead from over-drinking, or had scattered.

And this is all that this last Australian prince, and survivor of his race, told me about the natives, whose huts were once to be found along the wooded hills where today rises the great city of Melbourne, full of majesty and life.

Having shown us how the Aborigines climbed trees, and sang their songs, Berak would not leave us without giving us some idea of the way his ancestors used that strange and unique weapon, the boomerang. The boomerang can be a weapon of war or hunting, and is the simplest there has ever been; yet it is so extraordinary in its effects that the scientific principle upon which it acts has not yet been determined. It consists simply of a piece of hard wood shaped like a crescent moon. The wood is of about a hand's thickness in the middle, a little less towards the ends. Berak took his boomerang by one tip, and threw it with force up into the air and straight ahead. The bizarre and puzzling object hissed like an arrow as it left the hand and flew high; then, all of a sudden, it returned on the same course with powerful energy, twisting and turning like an enraged animal, until it fell two paces from Berak, who had not moved. Next, Berak aimed at the top of a tree, and broke it as if with a bullet. The weapon, like some intelligent and well-trained animal, returned docile and submissive to the feet of its master. Berak told us that he had seen a dozen parrots fall from a tree with the single throw of a boomerang. It also has extraordinary ricocheting powers when thrown over water. The contact with the water gives it new force, and it rebounds upon touching it until it reaches its goal beyond the water. The boomerang always comes back to its point of departure. It is a mystery that has baffled mathematicians, but which was invented by savages … by chance, no doubt.

Appendix 6.2 Arthur Baessler's Chapter on William Barak

Baessler's (1895: 172–185) chapter on Wiliam Barak is translated here into English, for the first time:

With King William Barak in Coranderrk (Victoria)[119]

If one departs Melbourne to the East by train, one will reach, after a number of hours, the small town of Healesville, charmingly situated at the foothills of mountains; from where the Post Road continues into a Mountain chain which shows in its water-rich gorges, the most abundant and richest fern vegetation with ancient, gigantic fern trees as you will hardly find them on Java. If you turn south after the first rise of this road, one will soon reach the area reserved by the Government of Victoria, for the Blacks, with the station Coranderrk situated in its middle. It is

119 It is also possible to translate this as 'Visiting King William Barak in Coranderrk".

managed by a missionary and because it is easily accessible from Melbourne, well prepared, so that travelling Englishmen can personally witness how selflessly the Natives are cared for.

For me the station had a different interest; one of his inhabitants attracted me: William Barak, the only surviving Black who knew the area where today stands Melbourne, when the area was still overgrown by thick jungle, when no Whites had set foot on that land, the last of the Yarra tribe, who witnessed the founding of the capital of Victoria in the year 1837.

While the Blacks in New South Wales had to construct their own huts, those in Victoria receive fully furnished houses. In Coranderrk there were 17 of these, in particular three made of stone with the rest made of wood. Apart from that, there was also a very nice one-story house for the Missionary with garden, tennis and other games places; a somewhat poor church (a simple hall which in previous times was used as accommodation for the girls while the boys lived in the open and only came to the station for meals); an apartment for the teacher and a large barn which was used during the hop harvest. All houses have a small veranda at the front and inside a living room, one bedroom and an area to cook; however, even today, the natives still prefer to cook outdoors. The house of King Barak had in addition, at the rear, a small extension with a large chimney. It was set on the bare ground with a small, enclosed garden. When I visited the owner for the first time, he smoked a pipe on the veranda while his wife fried a little bear on a spit in the courtyard.

A raw table and chair stood under the veranda from where one would enter through a door into the spacious living room where, above the fireplace, hang a cheap, poor picture of Queen Victoria. Here, a resting bed had been erected which the King would sometimes use during the day, while next door there were two beds with matrasses, woollen blankets and dirty covers for the night; two tables, a few chairs, an old mirror with blind glass and a bit of European junk completed the furnishings. The house was quite dirty and the air accordingly, despite the open windows, was disgusting. Such housing was not popular with the Blacks: they felt squashed in those narrow rooms and unhappy. Therefore, on other stations, I often found huts next to the houses, which the natives had created, old style, from a few boards or tree bark just like a tent. They preferred to spend their time here and for sure one would find them here if they didn't feel well because they hoped to improve their health under their own roof rather than anywhere else.

Every Monday, those who belonged to the station, received rations of flour, tea, sugar and the like, old people even received tobacco for the whole week; Tuesdays and Fridays everyone received fresh meat. The station, who owned 350 head of cattle, butchered its own animals.

At Christmas, people would receive new clothing from head to toe and would also receive every year a new suit, a pair of boots and even more if they needed it.

In the nearby forest they could hunt, set traps and thereby, on occasion gain an extra roast; if one wanted to obtain some delicatessen from the nearby town or secretly buy spirits, one would only need to work a few hours during the day on the station, it was quick and easy money, because for even the smallest work they received good wages.

The government had established a big hop field, to employ blacks and although they did not over exert themselves, they still earned on average 1 to 1.05 Shilling. The yield of the hops flowed into the treasury but, of course, did not cover the cost of the settlement.

The annual grant from the government for this station of 78 residents was around 20,000 marks. The blacks who lived here belonged to different tribes and that is the reason why there often used to be bloody fights amongst them; even now the peace is broken on occasions. Worst of all were the chiefs, who the missionary portrayed as the biggest scoundrels. In the past, they owed their power to brute force; though the dignity would pass from father to son and grandson, but only if these were equally strong and raw people like their ancestors and were able to exert their powers, otherwise the power would quickly pass on to other men who would lift themselves up to the level of chief.

Even in the reserves, the untamed nature of these savages showed through at times, once one of them dared to shoot at the missionary. Of course, for that he was sentenced to a number of years in prison but because a few Ladies from Melbourne put in a good word for him, he was soon pardoned. Now he is partially paralysed, lies mostly in bed, but even in this state he still often managed to cause trouble at the station. When he heard about my arrival he sent for me as he believed that I was a medicine man who could surely make him well again soon seeing that he recovered from his previous, often serious wounds. The Blacks have a very good healing skin and even with old people, open wounds that were initially assessed as being deadly, heal in very short time. Unfortunately, there was nothing one could do for this man; apart from reducing his pain I was unable to promise him anything.

One thing all inhabitants of the reserve had in common: The ugliness. In contrast to their brothers from the Wallaga-Lake they were pretty fat and stocky, looked relatively well nourished because of their chubby faces and strong bodies but despite this they didn't make a better impression. Amongst each other they communicated in Pidgin English as they no longer understood their different tribal languages. They did not like it when Whites addressed them in Pidgin dialect and preferred to hear good English because pidgin was spoken across the South Sea in the dealings with the Kulis and they felt offended by the use of the Pidgin dialect.

They didn't like anything that could even in the slightest indicate that they were not on the same level with the Whites. For this reason, it was extremely difficult to get them to undress when being measured. At the beginning I could not understand this, especially as they were well paid for this and there was no easier way of making money; eventually I understood the real reason, they were afraid, when standing naked in front of me, to be seen as despised Blacks. Instead they felt equal with me as long as they were wearing the same clothes as me. Earlier, they believed our clothing to be parts of our bodies and were surprised when a White took his trousers off and was still able to run. They also became disturbed when they touched a European or accidentally got into their pockets as they believed they had reached into his body, caused him pain because of it and that that person would now take revenge.

William Barak was not only the most interesting resident in Coranderrk but also had the positive distinction from others that his looks were not repulsive; he also received the highest praises for his character from the missionary.

In earlier years, he was often chosen to perform small jobs as messenger, even letters that he knew contained money; he had never been accused of any irregularities or embezzlement. That is why he enjoyed the full trust of his superiors.

In 1824, as the son of the chief of the Yarra tribe was born, he was 68 years old when I visited him. As an eleven year old boy he witnessed Batman's landing and remembers this first settler in Victoria very well. For a small trinket, Batman bought the land that Melbourne now stands on of

Figure 6.4: Wiliam Barak, Victoria

his father; the remaining large property was taken away from William without compensation by those Whites that followed; instead he was now allowed to live out his days on a reserve that was established on land previously owned by him. From here, he had travelled often to Melbourne where he was a favourite of the English Ladies; and once he was even ordered to see the Governor so he could demonstrate the throwing of spear and boomerang in front of a larger gathering. Because of this, he had learned a lot of manners which resulted in the missionary inviting him for dinner every now and then. However, since he re-married a few years ago, these invitations were discontinued because his new wife was not presentable and he himself had copied quickly bad manners from her.

His first wife had died a long time ago as well as all the children from that marriage. His second marriage was childless and because all members of his tribe had already died, he was the last one of a once-mighty, prosperous people. In contrast to the other Natives, the King could be considered as good looking old gentleman, the face framed by grey, wavy hair with a long, white beard and a kind-hearted expression (Plate XII) [see Figure 6.4].

Barak was strong, dark brown, with brown eyes, the forehead only slightly angled, the nose with extremely large nostrils, broad, the root somehow indented, the lips slightly raised lips graced a beautiful, white Moustache so that the dazzling white teeth only showed when speaking. The nasal septum was pierced, but William had not worn a nose peg for a long time. He was very

hairy all over the body, but even more on his forearms, up to the elbows which appeared nearly black, and on his chest where his hairs were already grey. The legs for the most part were covered by wormlike scabs. Barak was in total 156 cm tall and 129 cm shoulder height. On the right chest there were 5 large cuts visible, on the left upper arm a number of small ones and on the right one there were clear bites of a dog visible.

The scars are considered as a sign of beauty; men and women inflicted these scars themselves, in the beginning with stone axes, later with broken glass, never with a knife; now this custom has ceased, but the old women still proud of the extremely wide markings; and the more they have of these, the more beautiful they believe they are.

The King usually wore woollen underclothes, woollen stockings, loafers, pants and over that a long smock-like, down to the knees reaching, grey flannel shirt; on special occasions he exchanged it with a black frock coat. A felt hat and a big walking stick completed his equipment.

His wife Sera from the Briagalong tribe had already had two husbands before William and 16 children. She was an extremely ugly and always dirty woman of 152 cm in height with a wide, chubby face framed by black Jewish like locks. The forehead was low and sloping, broad nose and mouth, the lips risen, the chin protruding. Her suit consisted of European dresses, it was dirty; I never saw her wearing shoes or hat; her children and the home looked also slovenly and dirty. She had made a good match when she married her current husband, he less so. He, who as a widower had thought something of himself and for the time had been well taken care of, felt completely under the domination of this wife who didn't care much about or for him. Sera was his evil spirit, as she had already been on the other places where she had lived with her previous men and where she incited a lot of bloody fights. She loved the fight and quarrel and understood how to agitate the parties against each other until blood would flow.

There was a great defender of female beauty, Jack Narroowann, who stood at her side, an original guy, who was already an old man when the missionaries got to know him 32 years ago. At that time he was already a widower and a suitor but until now had no luck to break the heart of any woman. He was often in love but was always fobbed off. Every time that happened, he would retreat to his hut away from the reserve, pick up a big piece of wood and carve it until he saw the resemblance of his love in it. This picture he would then mount on the wall in his hut, two walls were already covered by this wooden harem.

William Barak was a friendly, sociable man who not only liked to talk, but also liked to make something of himself. He spoke loud and slowly, but was hard to understand; his English was highly deficient; the words he accompanied with vivid gestures. He loved to repeat many of his stories from the past and Sera, who knew all of them by heart, would assist him in telling them with her unpleasant and shouting voice. One day he came to the missionary and had asked him to write down his memoirs, he would dictate to him, because he was afraid to die soon. I was unable to find out who had given him this idea, probably someone in Melbourne, even though he proclaimed that it was all his idea while pointing to his temple as the source of it.

He used the document for begging, loved to show it around while asking for gold because he liked other forms of money less. Because he was very slow with dictating, the missionary gifted him a notebook, pen and ink and directed a black pupil from the mission school to be William's secretary. He didn't manage to finish his memoirs during my time there and at the end of ten years the king had dictated the following:

WILLIAM BARRICK.
Was Born in the Year 18,24 & was 11 Years old when Bateman[120] *visited Port Philips. He is now 58 Years of age*

14|12|82

Written 26 of May 18,88
Born at Brushes Creek neve forget it I remember Buckly[121] *word every time Captain Cook Landed at Western Port then Mr. Bateman came in they was looking for the Country, looked around the sea and he found a lot of blacks other side of Gealong & found buckely in the camp know trousers all raggety he wore opposum rug and he fetch him home to Mr. Bateman fetch him home to his house Bateman sent some potatoes from Melbourne to lodge to the Camp of Yarra Blacks then the Blacks travel io idelburge all the blacks Camped at Muddy Creek next Morning they all went down to see Bateman old man & woman & Children & they all went to Batemans house for ration every thing thing ready their and killed some sheep by Batemans order Buckly told the blacks to look at Bt face he looks very white any man that you see out in the bush not to touch him when you see an empty hut not to touch the bread in it make a camp outside and wait till the man comes home when the man comes home and finds every thing safe in the house they are good people if you kill one white man white fellow will shoot you down like a kangeroo a lot of white fellows come hear by and by and clear the scrube all over the country Captain Lancell*[122] *just coming in and Mr. Vocner*[123] *and Mr. Letrobe*[124] *came from England that time we heard our Minster Mr. Lanon*[125] *we got a school room in the Gremon garden*[126] *and the school-masters name Mr. Imich*[127] *we was singing Hallalooler Henry Buckly*[128] *coming in when Mr. Letrobe went home all the Protectors Mr. Ths*[129] *Protectors belonging to the Melbourne Blacks Mr. Le Sent*[130] *belong to the Globourne blacks Mr. Barker*[131] *belong to the Lodden tribe Mr. Bright*[132] *belong to Geelong tribe Mr. Dockfill*[133] *belong*

120 John Batman
121 William Buckley
122 Captain William Lonsdale, Police Magistrate.
123 Presumably Lieut. Francis D. Vignoles, 28th Regiment.
124 Charles Joseph La Trobe, Superintendent of the Port Phillip District and Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria.
125 George Langhorne at the Government Aboriginal Mission at what is now the Royal Botanic Gardens in Melbourne.
126 German garden, a reference to Ferdinand von Mueller's Botanical Gardens.
127 John Thomas Smith schoolmaster at Langhorne's Aboriginal mission station.
128 Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria from December 1856 until September 1863. Sir Charles Hotham was Governor after La Trobe's departure in May 1854 until December 1856.
129 William Thomas, assistant protector for Melbourne or Westernport District.
130 William Le Soüef, Assistant Protector of the Goulburn District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate.
131 Edward Stone Parker, Assistant Protector of the Loddon District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate.
132 Charles Wightman Sievwright, Assistant Protector of the Geelong District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate.
133 Rev. Francis Tucklfield at the Wesleyan Buntingdale Mission station at Birregurra.

to Colac tribe Buckly say bring all the stone tomehoke and give it to Mr. Bateman that stone-tomehoke go to the England all Aboriginal[134]

With this unfinished sentence the interesting document finished. I took precautions so that any future continuation of it will not be lost.

On several occasions, the diary mentioned William Buckley, who was about 30 years old before Batman landed and describes him as a prisoner destined for the Australian penal colony who, with two other convicts, escaped from an English ship. His mates died very soon while he wandered around aimlessly for a long time, when nearly giving up, he met a tribe of blacks. They wanted to kill him but an old woman declared that she recognised her dead son in him and believed that he was coming back now. His life was saved and he stayed with the tribe. When, after 30 years, he met other Englishmen again, he had forgotten his mother tongue. He later served frequently as an intermediate dealer, was pardoned and died in Tasmania.

Not only was Barak a writer, but also a woodcarver and painter. He made several wooden lighters for me. These lighters worked by rubbing hard and soft pieces of wood together to kindle some fibrous material, and boomerangs which he first shaped with axe and knife before using broken glass as a planer on them.

His drawings made with lead pencil always showed Corroborees, the old dances of the blacks. He drew pretty fast although different from our ways: if he had to draw a dressed man he would first draw the full body before dressing the naked person by drawing the clothing over it.

He also knew how to look after his finances. When I proposed to him for me to take his picture and to measure him, he only agreed to it under the conditions of gifting him the 1st photo and the payment of one pound sterling but he would take off nothing more than his coat. Because he always asked for relatively high fees also for his carvings and paintings it eventually came to a negotiated agreement with the help of the missionary; however, he would only ever be satisfied when he saw gold.

When delivering the goods he would again seek additional payments but was still satisfied when he had no success with this. At least he stuck to his word regarding the delivery; he did a lot of carving the evening before my departure and then got up early so not to miss me at 6 a.m. He claimed that he had watched since 2 a.m., when he finally saw smoke rising from the house of the missionary, who kindly gave hospitality to me, and he knew that we had woken up. Now he was here to deliver all that he had promised to make and indeed was delivering it. I gifted him all the tobacco that I had with me, but he would have preferred gold; because he argued, he received plenty of tobacco from the government – but he still took mine.

William, like all blacks in Coranderrk was Christian, regularly went to church on Sundays but still remembered a lot of his previous beliefs and had kept, like all natives, his fear of evil spirits. Although the whites had robbed him of his land, he harboured no grudge against them; he was a good-natured guy with a strong character. Of all the blacks that I saw, he left me with the best impression.

134 The original is italicized.

7 Coranderrk, Photographs and Tourist Postcards

J.M. MacKenzie (1985) has shown how the late nineteenth century imperial world view was an integral part of the commercial, industrial and social revolutions which took place in Britain between the 1850s and 1914. British society achieved nearly universal literacy and dramatic changes occurred in patterns of consumption as unrivalled opportunities for leisure and entertainment emerged and a voracious demand for collectible items. Printed and visual materials became so cheap that they were found in almost every home – it was a form of mass media that preceded the cinema, radio, and television. Picture postcards, cigarette cards, and juvenile journals could be collected and swapped – indeed, the period from the late 1890s to 1918 has been seen as the golden age of these collectables.

Photography offered a new visual revolution – from the 1850s travelling photographers set out to satisfy a demand for exotica and a visual presentation of the intrusion of the West around the world. The camera became a coloniser, a preparer of the route to European expansion in the late nineteenth century. Carte de visite photographs became popular with the middle classes and stereoscopes which had been invented in 1851 became very popular from the 1860s. However the advent of the postcard was the central element of the ephemera boom of this period – the height of the popularity of the postcard is generally regarded as between 1898 and 1918. Postcards took over from stereoscopes and visual paper and envelopes. MacKenzie (1985: 23) has noted how large numbers of cards were produced of the Empire itself, recording colonial products, and such things as visits of governors and royalty, and 'ethnics' showing the whole range of indigenous peoples under imperial rule.

Peterson (2006:11) has argued that postcards were the first genuinely popular access ordinary people had to photography. Improvements in printing technology made it possible to produce a postcard far cheaper than the cost of a Carte de Visite. Industrially produced postcards, what Peterson calls 'process printed images' were produced by photographers and companies with access to a large number of images to choose from. The other kind of postcards that were in circulation at this time was hand printed photographic images, produced and distributed by local photographers. These were not mass produced and were often sold in very small numbers from a select number of localities.

Poole (in Haebich, 2009) notes that colonial photographs were part of a 'visual economy'- they were produced, distributed, circulated, and consumed. In the late nineteenth century colonial photographs became images of scientific racial typologies, anthropometric evidence, salvage data, and government propaganda. Kleinert (2006: 70), cautions, however, that in arguing for the authority of photographic images, it is possible to lose light of the complex factors at work in cross-cultural representation including 'the dynamics of the historical encounter, the conditions of production and reception and the willing participation of Indigenous subjects creat-

Figure 7.1: Sons of Australia's aboriginal huntsmen and warriors, with their boomerangs. (Active no. (47)10275 S990) 1908. Underwood & Underwood (publisher), James Ricalton (photographer. Series Title: Australia & New Zealand Tour. Source: author's picture collection.

ing the possibility for many and varied readings'. Photography is now seen to allow more varied and diverse interpretations – images are polysemous.

Lydon's (2005: xiii) analysis of colonial photography at Coranderrk is that it became a powerful visual language: one that was shaped through a process of exchange as seen through the circulation of images through the press and commercial photography. Knowing how they were represented in white discourse allowed the residents to manipulate the public debate. Thus Lydon suggests it is possible to recover a performative relationship between the image and Aboriginal subjects, making it possible to interpret images and postcards from Indigenous perspectives.

Haebich's (2009: 57) analysis of the early photography taken at Coranderrk is that it is dominated by tangible evidence of progress: cleared lands under crop, new buildings, Aboriginal children surrounded by the trappings of civilised life, sedentary families posed in the manner of colonial settlers outside their cottages, and scenes of community outings were residents relax on river side picnics or engage in the manly sports of cricket. Details of composition, the subjects' clothes, grooming and posturing, and contextual props all combine to provide compelling proof of the missionaries'success. For Lydon, these images are an essential part of the colonial project of knowing and governing Aboriginal people (Haebich 2009: 58). But Lydon rejects the interpretation that Aboriginal people were captured and coerced by the photographers – she calls for a nuanced reading of the relationship between photographers and their Aboriginal subjects. Haebich (2009: 58) cautions, however, that given that we can create new meanings simply through the act of looking at photographs, how then do we avoid interpreting them according to the agendas that we

want to demonstrate? Peterson's response, according to Haebich (2009: 58), is that generalized fictions of colonialism ought to be avoided by studying examples of localized practice. Kuhn and McAllister (in Haebich, 2009: 59) suggest photographs need to be located and studied *in situ*: learning how and where they circulated in colonial visual economies across time and place, identifying the contexts that produced them and the tropes and conventions that gave them meaning.

Morton (2006) addresses the problems of how we relate to photographs. He asks how is it that a photograph that seemed to say one thing when it was created in 1866, for example, came to say something completely different 134 years later. The photograph itself, which is in a sense immutable, has not changed. His answer is that what has changed is the way the 'particular photograph is perceived, the way in which it is contextualised and enlisted to tell stories, and the way that people find themselves and their identities in those stories' (Morton 2006: 50). Photographs 'trigger subjective acts of recognition and feelings attendant on those acts, thereby providing concrete evidence of a deeply felt connection to the past' (Morton 2006: 50). Kovacic (2006: 99) reminds us that the photographic image is 'polysemic' and that it can carry many different meanings.

Kovacic (2006: 92) has noted how Lydon's research into photography at Coranderrk 'has questioned the *inevitability* of photography as a tool of surveillance and control, and examined Aboriginal agency in the picture-making process'.

With the exception of those times when professional photographers were commissioned to take photographs of Coranderrk (such as Charles Walter in 1866 and Fred Kruger in the 1880s), Kovacic has observed that colonial photographers usually photographed Aboriginal people out of their own interest or because they knew such photographs would do well on commercial markets in colonial and overseas urban centres. Thus moneymaking was a significant motive for taking photographs of Aboriginal people. Linking it with the indigenous body trade, Kovacic argues the 'views trade' was a reflection of the growing demand of Australian images.

Peterson (in Kovacic, 2006: 97) has argued that 'Any photographic encounter required a significant level of cooperation from the Aboriginal people concerned'. Kovacic has observed that some of the studio portraits of Aboriginal individuals and families 'show people who were not only willing but even looking forward to having their photographs taken' (Kovacic, 2006: 97). 'Many Aboriginal models, both in studio portraits and in group photographs taken at missions, strike the viewer as powerful and proud individuals who are either stubbornly defying the gaze of the camera or evidently taking great pride and pleasure in having their picture taken' (Kovacic, 2006: 97).

In this chapter I will follow Peterson's (2006: 13) analysis of select postcards. When Peterson began his analysis he was struck by two observations: that the hand printed photographic prints were generally more sympathetic and attractive pictures of Aboriginal people than the mass-produced process printed cards; secondly, he was surprised that the process printed cards had any commercial potential given the low

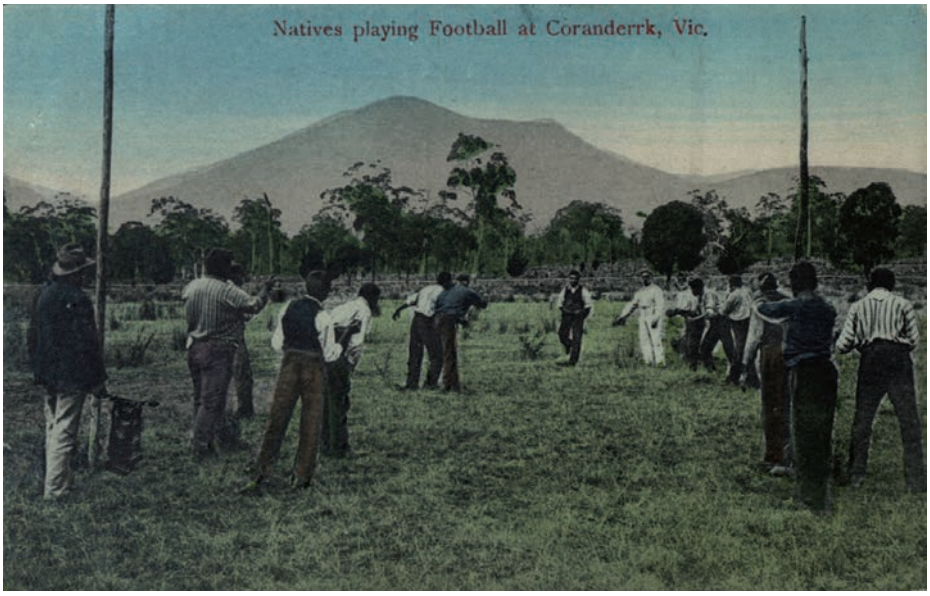


Figure 7.2: Natives playing Football at Coranderrk, Vic. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection).

Figure 7.3: Type of young men at Coranderrk Station. N.J. Caire photographer. (Author's picture collection). 'We went here when staying at Healesville.' The man in the centre is Woodford Robinson.

aesthetic quality of their images. Because Lydon (2005) has made an intensive study of Charles Walter and Frederick Kruger their Coranderrk photography is not considered in this study.

7.1 Nicholas Caire

Nicholas John Caire was born at Guernsey on 28 February 1837 and immigrated to Adelaide, South Australia, in c. 1860 with his parents. In 1865 he was travelling through Gippsland taking photographs of Aboriginal people at Lake Tyers and landscapes in the Strzeleki Ranges. In 1867 he opened a studio in Adelaide, married in 1870 and moved to Talbot on the Victorian goldfields. In 1876 he opened a studio in Melbourne. In 1885 he moved his studio to South Yarra. He died in 1918, aged 81 (Cato, 1955: 76f). In 1904 Caire was commissioned to produce a series of photographs for the Japanese Colonial Department (Lydon, 2005: 189). These photographs were turned into a series of postcards, examples of which are published here (see Figures 7.2–7.10, 7.13–7.14).

Lydon (2005: 190) has argued that Caire's images of Coranderrk proved to be very popular souvenirs, particularly between 1902 and 1914 when they were in vogue, and reached 'a wide national and international audience'. Many of his images were 'overtly staged, self-conscious performances by the residents, enacting both traditional activities' such as wrestling, corroboreeing, and making firesticks, and European routines such as dairying.

Figures 7.3 and 7.6 are both concerned with 'types': 'Type of young men at Coranderrk station' and 'Types of Aboriginal beauty, Coranderrk Station, Vic'. Peterson's (2005: 22) analysis of Figure 7.6, showing four women – three of whom are in the uniform of domestic helpers – is that the image is problematized by the caption which raises a whole set of other issues ... about attitudes to Aboriginal appearance, directing viewers' attention to the face rather than to the evidence of the desirable social effects of their institutionalization'. Figure 7.3 is in the same mode, 'directing attention to the physical appearance rather than the smart sartorial appearance that mark these men out from almost all other process printed images'.

Figures 7.4 and 7.5 involve the same three subjects – Lanky Manton dressed in cricket whites, Sam Rowan, and an unnamed youth: one card is entitled 'The Young Australian native learning to throw the Boomerang' has the young child standing about to throw a boomerang; sitting on the ground beside a collection of artefacts are Lanky Manton and Sam Rowan – in the background standing and leaning against and sitting on the fence is an audience of 16 Coranderrk residents – men, women, and children. The second card is entitled 'Boomerang throwing, Coranderrk Station, Vic' involves the same participants, only this time Lanky Manton is standing beside the artefacts holding the boomerang in his left hand. In both cards, Lydon (2005: 199) argues Caire, the photographer, 'stands as a tourist would have, looking over the clear space in front of the settlement, to watch a display of throwing the boomerang'.

Figure 7.4: The Young Australian native learning to throw the Boomerang. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection).

Figure 7.5: Boomerang throwing, Coranderrk Station, Vic. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection). Lanky Manton in whites; other older man is Dick Rowan. Child's name not known.

Lydon (2005: 191) argues that some of the other postcards that are derived from Caire photographs (See Figures 7.7–7.10) are structured by the trope of the availability of souvenirs in the forms of weapons or other artifacts such as baskets and rugs – detached from traditional hunting and gathering they were relics of 'savagery'.

> They have the same pictorial structure: in the center of the scene, at the back, spatially staked out by spears and array of smaller weapons, an elderly man [John Terrick] sits enveloped in a possum skin cloak, invoking a tradition originating in the earliest photographs of Australian Aborigines ... showing people sitting in a camp. The natural setting has been emphasized by cutting gum-tree branches to augment the natural backdrop. Less a focal point than a starting place, the old man and the traditional weapons he holds animate the Aboriginal past, metaphorically overshadowing the Aboriginal present. Against this static background Caire created decontextualized pseudodocumentary "moments" illustrating key aspects of tradition, including warfare and fire making, and the nomadism inferred by the line of women and children (Lydon, 2005: 191, 195).

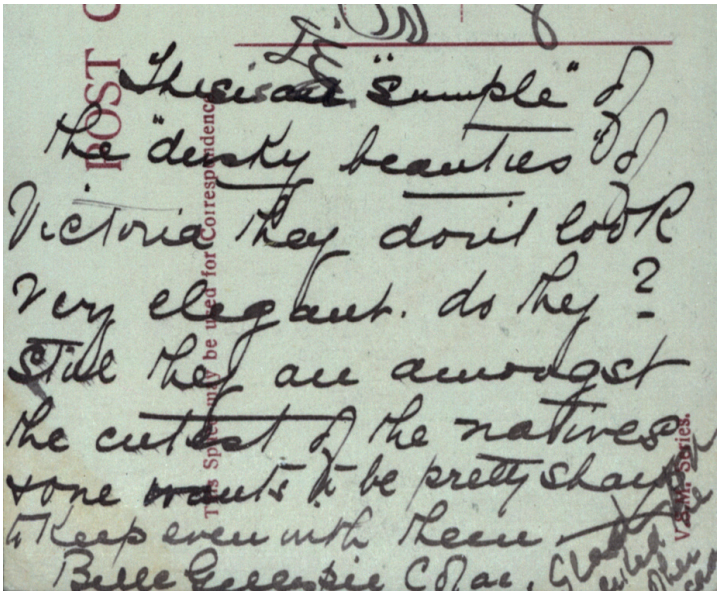
Lydon concludes that these postcards reflect a populist understanding of traditional Aboriginal culture, signified by stereotypical Aboriginal objects and practices. 'They are stereotypes, distancing and objectifying the Aboriginal people'. They are 'the first to deliberately re-create tradition, with the cooperation of managers. The complicity of officials with commercial photography at this time reflects their acceptance of visual representations, and of the tourist industry that popularized them' (Lydon, 2005: 195).

Analysing the collection of Caire images that involve John Terrick (Figures 7.7–7.9) seated in the centre, Lydon (2005: 199) considers that 'the array of spears, spear throwers, clubs, shields, and boomerangs shown in 'Natives making Firesticks at Coranderrk, Vic.' (see Figure 7.7), resemble a curio stall or museum display'. She argues his 'posed tableaux' can be interpreted 'as a stylized, stereotypical re-creation of traditional customs for a contemporary audience, unfamiliar with Aboriginal people, through the inclusion of material markers of Aboriginality, enhanced by photographic realism'.

Lydon's analysis of Figure 7.13 *The Dairy at Coranderrk Station, Vic*. is that it shows 'residents in the midst of routines, many frozen in the act of taking a step, their rigid poses indicating careful arrangement. .. the manager Shaw, recognizable by his top hat and frock coat, stands prominently within the scene, symbolizing his pastoral relationship to the Aboriginal people. Pictorially, the rigidity of the subjects resonates with this textual trope of control: these images focus on regulated activities rather than individuals or their appearance (Lydon, 2005: 191).

Figure 7.14 has various titles. The one presented here is 'The first Cobbs' Coach Imported from America, Delivering H.M. Mails to the Natives at Coranderrk'. I have a second copy, an A.G.J. card, printed in Saxony, with the title 'Australian Aboriginals'. Cato (1955: 64) reproduces the same image with the caption 'Cobb's Coach off to Lake Tyers with its load of aboriginals, taken by Nicholas Caire, about 1884'. This date

Figure 7.6: Types of Aboriginal Beauty Coranderrk Station, Vic. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection)



'This is one "sample "of the "dusky beauties" of Victoria. They don't look very elegant do they? Still they are amongst the cutest of the natives & one wants to be pretty sharp to keep even with them'.

seems incorrect; when the image of Joseph Shaw is compared to his image in other photographs taken in 1904, it suggests that the photograph is more likely to date from 1904 (Pitkethly & Pitkethly, 1988: 68).

7.2 James Ricalton, Underwood & Underwood Photographer, 1908

In 1908 noted photographer James Ricalton visited Coranderrk and took a number of photographs for his employer Underwood & Underwood. James Ricalton (1844–1929) was a school teacher, inventor, traveller, and photographer who travelled extensively around the world. Ricalton was in Australia in 1907–8. *The Riverine Herald* (7/1/1908) referred to him as 'the most famous photographer in the world. The professor, who has taken photographs in all parts of the earth and under all sorts of trying circumstances, is now in Australia'. *The Launceston Examiner* (30/1/1912) called him the 'the dean of American photographers'. During his time in Australia he was the subject of an article in the December 1907 issue of *Life* written by W.A. Somerset in which Ricalton described his work and his methods. The Adelaide *Chronicle* (11/1/1908) discussed both Ricalton and the work of Underwood and Underwood, his employer.

The Underwood & Underwood Company produced stereoscopes and stereoscopic images starting business in Ottawa, Kansas in the early 1880s. Brothers Elmer and Bert began by selling stereoscopes from door to door. By 1901 they were producing more than 25,000 cards a day and selling 300,000 stereoscopes a year. Opening branches in Baltimore, London, and Canada, they relocated to New York City in 1891. Malin (2007) in a study of stereoscope images has shown how Underwood & Underwood linked the stereoscope to education and notions of citizenship suggesting that they could help teach subjects such as geography. To accompany their vast collections of stereoscopes Underwood & Underwood and their primary competitor the Keystone View Company published books that they intended to accompany their collections. The stereoscope was promoted as a means through which middle-class audiences could gain access to cultural knowledge and cultural capital usually associated with upper class travel. The three-dimensional stereoscopic 'tour' was promoted by these companies as 'close to travelling by magic carpet as anyone can outside of a fairy tale' (Malin, 2007: 409). Given that international travel was out of the reach of most people, the stereoscopic tours of foreign countries were framed as sources of enlightenment and cultivation.

The stereoview that was produced from this visit to Coranderrk was captioned 'Sons of Australia's aboriginal huntsmen and warriors – with their boomerangs' (see Figure 7.1). It was part of a teaching series entitled 'Australia & New Zealand Tour'. In terms of the identity of the five men, I believe them to be from left to right: Sam Rowan; Lanky Manton; Woodford Robinson; Harry McRae; Ned McLennan. The three men in the background are not known.

On the reverse of the stereoview are the following notes:

Figure 7.7: Natives making Firesticks at Coranderrk, Vic. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection).

Figure 7.8: Natives and their weapons, Coranderrk, Vic. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection).[135]
John Terrick seated in both. Man kneeling in Figure 7.7 is Lanky Manton; in Figure 7.8 Manton is standing and wearing blue shirt. Man with back to us standing closest to Manton is Woodford Robinson. In Figure 7.8 man on far left is Sam Rowan.

135 The State Library of Victoria has a black and white postcard of this image entitled 'Fun in Camp Coranderrk'. Pictures Collection Accession No. H141235/2.

10275. *Geography.* – We are at Healesville on the Yarra river, a few miles northeast of Melbourne, in Victoria, Australia.

People and Homes.- Healesville is a reservation which has been set apart by the government for the Australian aborigines. They are allowed to occupy cheap wooden houses like those in the background and are provided with food and clothing by the government. In return for this care, they are supposed to do a certain amount of work.

The native weapon for war and amusement is the boomerang, of which we see several specimens here. There are two kinds, one which can be thrown a distance of one hundred and fifty to two hundred and seventy five yards with power enough to kill game; the other, which is used more for amusement, can be thrown in such a way that it will return to the sender, in apparent violation of all mechanical laws.

Races of Mankind.- The origin of the natives of Australia presents a difficult problem. The chief difficulty in deciding their critical relations is their remarkable physical difference from all the neighbouring peoples. And as one turns from physical criteria to their manners and customs, it is only to find fresh evidence of their isolation. While their neighbours – the Malays, Papuans and Polynesians – all cultivate the soil, and build substantial huts and houses, the Australian natives to neither. Pottery is common to Malays and Papuans, but is unknown to the Australians. The bows and arrows of the Papuans and the elaborate canoes of all three neighbouring races are also unknown to the Australians. They must be considered as representing the most primitive race of mankind, and it is necessary to look far for their prehistoric home.

Refer again to this view when considering History, Agriculture, Manual Training.

There are numerous copies of this view in the medium of silver gelatin on glass in the National Museum of American History in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. Their catalogue entries provide a creation date of 1908. The photographer is listed as James Ricalton.

Stereoview 990 was considered suitable for class discussion of the following topics: People – Their Dress and Manners; Special Groups of Buildings – Cottages; General History – Australia and New Zealand; Homes and Life of the People; Fundamental Handicraft – Wooden implements; Races of Mankind – Australians; People; People – Black; and Regions with Winter Rain – Victoria (Australia) (see McMurray 1915).

The next image in the Australia and New Zealand Tour series is '10276: Boomerangs in mid-air, on the curving flight which will bring them back to the thrower, New South Wales', 1908.

In the set of 1,000 stereographs, only 11 were of Australia –Nos. 982–992: including 982 – Melbourne; 983 – Collins Street, Melbourne; 984 – kangaroo at Melbourne Zoo; 987 – Tower Hill, Koroit; 988 – gold mine, Bendigo; and 990 – Aboriginal men at Coranderrk.

McMurray (1915: iv) stressed that 'Using stereographs is not play; it is work. The stereograph is a superior kind of text, and a good teacher will not have so much trust in mere print that he will be unwilling to go to some trouble to get the most out of this

Figure 7.9: Natives wrestling, Coranderrk. (Author's picture collection). John Terrick seated. Lanky Manton far left. Wrestler on right is Woodford Robinson.

Figure 7.10: Native women and children at Coranderrk Station, Vic. N.J. Caire photographer. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection).

higher kind of text. Let him realize that the stereograph is a true window to the world of nature and the activities of man, by means of which the pupils may:

> Through the loop-hole of retreat
> Peep at such a world;
> Hear the great Babel
> And not feel the crowd (McMurray, 1915: iv).

McMurray (1915) also stressed the importance of the descriptive text that accompanied the stereoscope:

> An important feature of this series that greatly adds to its value both for reference and for class use, is the excellent descriptive and explanatory text on the back of every stereograph card and which is supplied separately for each slide. These explanatory and technical descriptions cover all the most important points in connection with each subject shown. This text has been carefully prepared and will be found of much importance to both teacher and pupil, rendering it unnecessary to hunt here and there for information about places or objects shown. This is provided in the text so as to be instantly available. It supplements the regular text-books of the schools in a most valuable manner. For convenience of reference, the descriptive text is often divided under several of the school topics for which any particular stereograph or slide is likely to be of special use. For example, the text for No. 1 is under the headings of Geography, Literature, Geology, Architecture and History; or No. 59 under Geography, Agriculture, Industries, People and Homes, History (McMurray, 1915: xxviii).

7.3 Healesville photographers: Ernest Samuel Fysh and J. & O.H. Kercheval

In the early twentieth century, Healesville and Coranderrk were served by numerous professional photographers including Ernest Samuel Fysh and the Kercheval Brothers – J. & O.H. Kercheval – the latter do not receive any attention from Lydon (2005). Very little is known of the Kercheval brothers but from articles in the *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* it is clear that they were active during the period from 1910 until at least 1912 when they are recorded as having taken photographs for tourist publications such as the *Penny Guide Book*. The *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (31/5/1912) noted that 'Mr Kercheval is gaining a wide reputation as an up-to-date photograper'. In July 1912 the local paper reported that 'Mr Coffey, assistant Government Tourist Officer, wrote to the last meeting of the Healesville Tourist and Progress Association, stating he intended, for general information regarding Victoria, to make a post card collection. He asked that the Association procure and forward views of Healesville and district. It was decided to request Messrs Kercheval, Fysh, Lindt and Caire to kindly supply the views' (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 12/7/1912).

Figure 7.15 is an example of a Kercheval Bros photograph. Peterson (2005: 19) has analysed this photograph and notes that the 'people are well dressed by Australian

Figure 7.11: The Superintendent and some of the older Blacks, Coranderrk, Healesville, Vic. (Author's picture collection). 'See the blacks when you stayed here'.

Figure 7.12: Native Community at Coranderrk Station. (Author's picture collection). Woodford Robinson far left back row – note his distinctive stand which he reproduces in many photographs.

standards of the day, the adults are sitting on chairs and a boy is even wearing a school cap'. Other Kercheval photographs include Figures 7.18, 7.20 and 7.21.

Ernest Samuel Fysh (1876–1942), teacher, photographer, publisher and poet, established himself as a photographer in Healesville in 1908. On 8 September 1909, Fysh visited Coranderrk Station and took photographs of the Aboriginal residents. Natalie Robarts wrote in her diary: 'We had quite a little pleasant disturbance, Mr. Fish the photographer came to take several photos of the natives, and I proposed he should take the women at Raffia work, & so he did' (Clark, 2014: 38).

On 16 October 1908, the *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* reported on the progress of Fysh's business:

> Mr Ernest Fysh, who a little over six months ago established himself here as a photographer, has, we are pleased to learn, been making good progress. Since January last Mr Fysh has taken 400 photos and has printed and sold 3,000 post card views of the district, the distribution of which must be of incalculable benefit to Healesville. Mr Fysh's work is first-class, and he deserves all the support that the local public can give him.

On 8 September 1909, Fysh visited Coranderrk Station and took photographs of the Aboriginal residents. Natalie Robarts wrote in her diary: 'We had quite a little pleasant disturbance, Mr. Fish the photographer came to take several photos of the natives, and I proposed he should take the women at Raffia work, & so he did' (Robarts Diary 8/9/1909 in Clark 2014b: 38).

The success of Fysh's business and his entrepreneurship is demonstrated in the news that he had had to expand his studio and by the fact that in a little over 20 months he had increased his output from 3,000 postcards to over 20,000 cards.

> Mr E. Fysh, Healesville's photographic artist, in order to cope with his increasing, business and give greater satisfaction (if that is possible) to his numerous customers, has had built a large and up-to-date studio at his residence, Fernshaw-road, where intending patrons can have their photos taken in the latest style. Mr Fysh's reputation as a photographer is so well and favorably known, that those who wish to have their photos taken, whether on post card, cabinet or enlargement size, cannot do better than pay him a visit. In the short time he has been here he has taken and prepared over 20,000 post-cards, besides picnic parties, family and wedding groups, and an inspection of his work will convince one that Fysh's is the best place to go for photos. [...] photography is a speciality, and his charges are very reasonable. Visitors and others, don't forget to pay Mr. Fysh a visit (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* 24/6/1910).

Weddings were one of Fysh's specialities, and although Lydon (2005) believes that it is possible that the Coranderrk community commissioned him to take their wedding photographs, I suspect it is more likely that the entrepreneur in him realised the potential market for postcards of Aboriginal weddings at Coranderrk – the sending of cards by local white families to their non-resident kinfolk for example demonstrates the demand. It is possible that some of the images were commissioned by the Aboriginal residents though in the absence of any evidence of this it must remain

Figure 7.13: The dairy at Coranderrk Station, N.J. Caire photograph. Vic. V.S.M. Series. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection)

Figure 7.14: The First Cobbs' Coach Imported from America, Delivering H.M. Mails to the Natives at Coranderrk. N.J. Caire photograph. Printed in Germany. (Author's picture collection)

speculation. The transmission of Coranderrk wedding cards by non-residents would suggest that the images were not taken exclusively for the bride and bridegroom. Of course it is possible that the *quid pro quo* for the couple in giving their consent to be photographed and granting Fysh reproductive rights was a waiver of the sitting fee and complimentary copies.

Fysh used the pages of the *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (25/11/1910) to correct errors in the Healesville Tourist and Progress Association's new penny guide book *Tourist's Guide to Picturesque Healesville and District*.[136] He noted that on 'p. 59 Sundays are wrongly excepted from the visiting days at Coranderrk, as by a special edict from the Board, Sunday visiting is expressly allowed'.

People were also motivated by an interest in Aboriginal people regarded as both a 'dying race' and a 'fossil race'. Indeed, in the early 1900s tourist guides often promoted a visit to Aboriginal stations and the purchase of postcards of the stations and their residents as important souvenirs of a soon-to-be extinct race of people (Lydon 2005: 189).

7.4 Weddings at Coranderrk

Ethel Shaw has discussed the importance of events such as weddings in the life of the Coranderrk station:

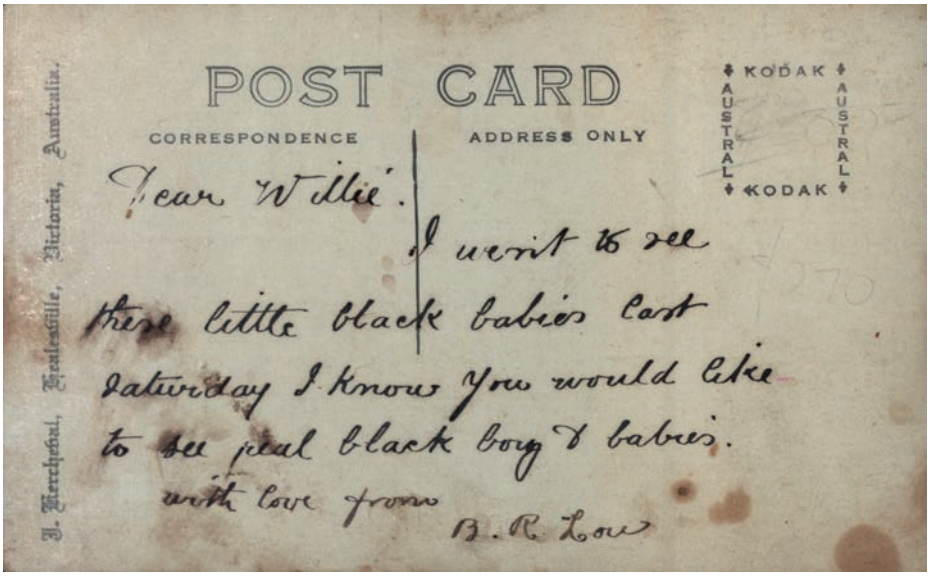
> A wedding on the station caused a happy stir among the people. Like one big family, all were interested in the young, and sometimes old, couple. … When the wedding day arrived, the church was decorated with flowers and filled with smiling people, all the residents, of course, being guests, and sometimes a few white folk anxious to see an Aboriginal wedding. The ceremony was followed by the wedding feast. This had been much anticipated by the guests, and was thoroughly enjoyed by all. Everyone received a piece of the wedding cake. After a happy speech from the clergyman and a shy response from the bridegroom, the happy couple went to their home, well showered with rice. Often a little dancing and singing followed in the evening (Shaw 1949: 22).

Reflecting on weddings at Coranderrk during his parents' tenure as manager and matron of Coranderrk, Oswald Robarts recalled the wedding in 1909 of Eliza and Ted in a piece entitled 'Dusky Beau Brummels and Picturesque Weddings':

> Weddings were generally occasions for a lavish display of finery. The preparations of those to whom marriage was no new experience, however, were not so elaborate. In the summer of 1909 love again stole into the heart of Eliza, a widow. Her heart was won by Ted, an unassuming middle-aged widower. The wedding was celebrated in the following year. Whether the strain of the ceremony or a sense of impending doom wrought up her nerves will never be known, but

136 A second edition of the guide was published in 1914.

Figure 7.15: Family Group, Coranderrk. Healesville. J. Kercheval, Healesville, Victoria, Australia. (Author's picture collection).



'I went to see these little black babies last Saturday. I know you would like to see real black boys & babies'.

> after the service, the bride was led weeping from the altar supported on the arm of her husband. She could not be persuaded to face the camera. A few months later, following a distressing "scene" with her husband, she proclaimed her intention of committing suicide. She was seen making off in the direction, of the Yarra, but she returned to the settlement at nightfall. Drenched, but chastened, she complained that the water had been too cold. Domestic differences in the life of the community not infrequently demanded considerable tact in the restoration of peace. For, that reason it was customary during church services for men to occupy one side of the building and women the other. Few women were free from the corroding suspicion that other women had designs upon the affections of their husbands across the aisle, and alleged battings of eyelids were frequently sources of grievances which were fiercely ventilated (*The Argus* 6 June 1931; *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* 27 June 1931).

Lydon's (2005: 209) analysis of some of the Coranderrk wedding postcards is that they show events that were in material terms, strikingly elaborate, carefully conforming to European ritual, including formal clothes and shoes, wedding cake, floral bouquets, and bridal parties. According to Lydon, Aboriginal weddings provided station managers and others evidence of the success of their management regime, that 'white weddings' show a triumph of colonization and white progress – yet, she has ignored Oswald Robarts's comment (see above) that the traditional practise of separating men and women from one another in official ceremonies was strictly adhered to in wedding ceremonies at Coranderrk in the early 20th century – colonization had not erased every traditional convention.

John Green reported to the Central Board (see Victoria, 1866: 4), that very early in his time as superintendent at Coranderrk, insisted on the 'proper performance of the marriage ceremony, and it is believed that the effect on the minds of the blacks is highly beneficial. They are made to understand that they are no longer mere savages, and that they are entitled to take part in those ceremonials which the blacks in other parts of the colony believe are reserved only for the whites'.

7.4.1 Five Weddings at Coranderrk in the Same Ceremony, April 1868

The first wedding at Coranderrk that gained considerable attention was a large service that saw five couples married in the same ceremony. Three ministers were involved in the proceedings (see Figure 7.16).

> WEDDING CEREMONY AT THE ABORIGINAL STATION, CORANDERRK
> A correspondent, writing from the Black Station, Coranderrk, Upper Yarra, furnishes an interesting account of a native wedding which took place there last week:-— "The officiating clergymen on the occasion were the Rev. Robert Hamilton, Napier-street church, Fitzroy; Rev. A.M. Ramsay, St. Enoch's, Collins-street; and the Rev. S.L. Chase, of St. Paul's. On arriving on the 3rd – inst. we found everything in course of preparation for the ceremony. The camp seemed quite in a fluster, the young men standing about in groups, laughing and joking, and the girls, looking perfectly clean and neat, were ogling and glancing about most mysteriously. The marriage took place at about two o'clock, in the large room of the station, used for various

Figure: 7.16: Wedding Ceremony at the Aboriginal Station, Coranderrk. *Illustrated Australian News* 25/4/1868; State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection IAN25/04/68/8

purposes, as a school, a dining-place, and a church. This chamber, thirty by twenty-four feet, was quite full, partly with blacks and partly with visitors from neighboring homesteads. The brides and bridegrooms stood side by side at one end, while chairs and forms accommodated the visitors at the other. The Rev. Mr Hamilton performed the ceremony, assisted by the Rev. Mr Ramsay. Everything proceeded in the most quiet and orderly manner. In truth, I never saw amongst white people more attention and more anxiety to have the marriage performed in decency and good order. After the ceremony, the children sang several hymns and songs, concluding with the 'National Anthem,' and I assure you that not in any school did I hear the music better rendered. The room was then cleared, and the tables laid with abundance of bride cake, tea and other pleasant things, of which all partook heartily. It appears that this is the fourth time that the ceremony of marriage has been performed at Coranderrk. The first and second times, one couple only were married; the third time, two couples; and this last and fourth time, five couples, evidently showing that a desire for proper matrimonial relations is growing among the blacks. It appears that there is among them a singular superstition which prevents the mother of the girl who is about to be married from coming within sight of the father of the young man, and the mother of the young man from seeing the father of the girl; they believe that their hair would necessarily turn grey. Living, however, as they do at Coranderrk, the parents were unable to avoid meeting each other; and at first it appears that considerable surprise was felt that no evil consequences ensued. This, of course, led to the abandonment of the

Figure 7.17: A Coranderrk Wedding: Henry McRae – Lizzie Hamilton 2 August 1909. Ernest s. Fysh, photographer. (Author's picture collection)

> superstition, which now, I am told, those at the station laugh at. ... After the marriage, in the evening, some speeches were made by the blacks, and several native songs were sung. Simon, the chief of the Yarra tribe, spoke impressively in the native tongue, and as no translation was attempted, it is probable that some reference was made to those who had deserted them, and who were still absent. Another spoke in English, and in short emphatic sentences told how much he was pleased with what had taken place, and how much he regretted that those who had been married before in the same place had gone away. The evening was spent pleasantly and harmoniously with other speeches and songs, and concluded as usual with prayer and a hymn, all the blacks shaking hands with all the whites present. .. (*Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 25/4/1868).

7.4.2 Hugh McRae and Lizzie Hamilton Wedding, 2 August 1909

Massola (1975: 42) has noted that 'Weddings always created much excitement on the station. The first that took place after Mr Robarts became manager was that of Henry McRae and Lizzie Hamilton. He is described by Mrs Robarts as being a nice young lad, and Lizzie is pronounced to be a nice and well-behaved young girl. Lizzie's father, Frank Blair, bought her a wedding dress' (see Figure 7.17).

Natalie Robarts continued her diary entry about Frank Blair: 'He went to town to buy it, and as he had no money to take him down some of the people good naturedly subscribed about 10/- so what with £1 sent by an uncle of Lizzie she is particularly

well off … everyone on the Station has a good word for Lizzie' (Robarts Diary 11/8/1909 in Clark 2014b: 37).

> Lizzie's wedding day, and such a beautiful day, full of sunshine …The church was a picture, the women decorated it with wattle blossom & white Cherry plum – it is the prettiest church decorations I have seen, these people seem to have a natural gift, it was artistic and graceful. The school room also looked nice. I have put pictures on the walls & it brightens the scene. All our people are very happy today. Lizzie looked very nice in her white muslin dress & veil & wreath which consisted of Cherry Plum blossoms … But there was one disappointment. The new furniture for their cottage, though ordered ten days in advance, had not arrived! However the wedding breakfast was delightful. Miss Shaw made an elaborate wedding cake, I also gave Lizzie a fancy cake. Mrs Wandin (what should we do without her!) made all the sandwiches & six large cakes, the people also contributed £1.0.0 towards the supper … (Robarts Diary 25/8/1909 in Clark, 2014b: 37f).

7.4.3 Willie Russell and Julia Sherwin, March 1910

Figures 7.18–7.19 are two different postcards from the wedding of Willie Russell and Julia Sherwin, in March 1910. The author has a personal copy of Figure 7.18. On the reverse the sender has written:

> This is a photograph of Mr & Mrs Russell & 2 more that were married recently (Woodford & I don't know the girls name) see how he is blushing.

Peterson's (2005: 19) observation of Figure 7.19 is that the woman, Julia Sherwin, is being married in conventional European bridal gowns and the men are in suits. He considers this photograph is typical of the wedding photographs that were taken at Coranderrk. With the couple are three attendants: a bridesmaid (seated) and two groomsmen – one sitting, the other standing.

7.4.4 John Terrick – Ellen Darby Wedding, 7 July 1910

Natalie Robarts mentioned the wedding of John Terrick and Ellen Darby in passing: 'John Terrick's wedding is over [he married Ellen Darby] it all passed off well, Baroness de Pury, her two sons & two nieces came to see the wedding (Robarts Diary 7/7/1910 in Clark, 2014b: 49) (see Figure 7.20). The wedding made the newspapers:

> VICTORIA. MELBOURNE. July 10.
> An aboriginal wedding took place at Coranderrk on Thursday between "Johnny" "Terrick", a widower, nearly 70 years of age, one of the few remaining blacks of the Yarra tribe, and Ellen Darby, from Lake Tyers, widow, 35 years of age. Baroness De Pury made the bride a present of a wedding dress for the occasion (*The Register*, 11/7/1910).

Figure 7.18: A Coranderrk Wedding Russell Sutton Healesville, J. Kercheval photographer, March 1910 (Author's picture collection). Note that Woodford Robinson, left hand side, is once again standing in the pose he generally takes when he is being photographed – standing away, averting his gaze from the camera.

Figure 7.19: A Wedding at Coranderrk: Willie Russell – Julia Sherwin Postcard March 1910, Ernest G. Fysh, Healesville, Victoria. State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection H42691.

Figure 7.20: Terrick Darby Wedding, Corranderrk, Healesville. [Presumably J. Kercheval, photographer] Postcard, State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection H2012.78/4

An aboriginal wedding took place at Coranderrk on Thursday between "Johnny"' Terrick." a widower, nearly 70 years of age, and one of the few remaining blacks of the Yarra tribe, and Ellen Darby, from Lake Tyers, a widow, of 35 years of age. Mr. C.A. Roberts, superintendent performed the ceremony. Baroness de Pury made the bride a present of the wedding dress for the occasion (*The Argus*, 11/7/1910; *Bairnsdale Advertiser and Tambo and Omeo Chronicle*, 12/7/1910).

> A NOVEL WEDDING. TWO ELDERLY ABORIGINALS MARRIED.
> Melbourne, Monday.
> A novel wedding was celebrated at the Coranderrk aboriginal station on Saturday by the manager. The contracting parties were two full-blooded blacks, John Terrick and Ellen Darby, a widower and a widow, grandfather and grandmother respectively. The bridegroom is 75 years of age. The church was crowded. The bride, who was supported by a dusky bridesmaid, wore a cream Sicilian gown and a gossamer veil (*Barrier Miner*, 11/7/1910).

7.4.5 Alick Mullett and Violet Manton Wedding, October 1910

In October 1910 Alick Mullett married Violet Manton (see Figure 7.21). The local paper ran the following story on the wedding:

Figure 7.21: Mullett Manton Wedding Corranderrk Healesville. J. & O.H. Kercheval Photographer, Healesville. (Author's picture collection)
'We seen this bride & didnt she look fine in all her array & just as proud as any white bride would be, they dearly love white clothes their everyday clothes are gray in color, but they think if they get married in white they are as good as we are & poor devils nobel they are to, I often pity the blacks ours are a peaceful lot, I cant understand the treatment they get'.

ORANGE BLOSSOMS, MULLETT-MANTON.
A very pretty and popular wedding took place at Coranderrk last Thursday afternoon, when Miss Violet Manton was united to Mr Alick Mullett by the manager, Mr C. Roberts. The weather was remarkably fine, the bride was comely, and the bridegroom as happy a man as you might meet in a day's march. There was a great gathering of guests and visitors. The little church, gaily decorated with ferns, dogwood, blossom, and trails of clematis, was thronged, and the singing during the service most enjoyable. The bride wore white muslin, trimmed with embroidery, a pair of neat white shoes, and a net veil, and carried a shower bouquet of roses from the 'manager's garden. But the loveliest feature in her costume was the use made of the native clematis, now in full bloom beside the Coranderrk River, the white, starry clusters on their slender green trails being twisted into a wreath for her dark hair, and trailing in a shower from the roses and maidenhair of her bouquet. She was attended by two pretty, bridesmaids, the Misses Maggie Wandin and Emma Patterson, also dressed in white, with wreaths and bouquets of roses and maidenhair. Mr Alick M'Crae and a cousin of the bride acted as groomsmen. Mr. and Mrs Mullett afterwards held a reception at the house of the bride's mother, where the many pretty and useful presents were displayed. No fewer than five wedding cakes furnished forth the subsequent banquet and dance held at night in Coranderrk Hall. The wedding party was much photographed by both local photographers; and already there are many inquiries for mementoes of the happy occasion (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 28/10/1910).

7.4.6 William Logan and Priscilla Johnson Wedding, 18 July 1917

Natalie Robarts wrote a long entry in her diary about the wedding of William Logan and Priscilla Johnson.

> We had a wedding yesterday. William Logan who has returned from Bunyap[137] [sic] chose Priscilla Johnson for his wife. Willie is such a nice lad that I only hope Priscilla will prove to be the right woman – unfortunately she is *enceinte*. Time will tell whether the child is one soldier boy, or purely a little Aborigine! Since Priscilla was sent to the station, being rescued from the soldier's camps she has behaved very well & has given no trouble. The wedding was a nice one in every aspect. The bride was dressed in white silk, with a veil & a little wreath made from white heath & tiny pink roses, carrying a bouquet of sweet smelling violets as also did the bridegroom, best man, & brides maids. The church was very nicely decorated. The school room was also decorated with wattle blossom & gum leaves where the 'wedding feast' took place. A large table was erected. Strips of calico provided by me & another (under clothing material which had been given out weeks ago & not yet in the making) took the place of table cloths, baking powder tins wrapped around with paper & filled with wattle blossom decorated the wedding table. All the station was present, each family contributing something towards the feast & also bringing their own cups & plates &c &c. 'Café au lait' was made also tea. When all were present Grace was sung standing, & all had a good "tuck in". Annie Manton was telling me today that she made two 'puddins' big ones too, & they liked them so much that they wanted two helpins! There was, I believe, a speech made, then the two Alices had a real good time by preaching away to willing ears, & they left about nine o'clock very quietly & almost solemnly. I gave the bride a flower vase & a table cover which Natalie took a pleasure in running up. Willie received a silk tie & Louie who works in the house just now was allowed to make a box full of biscuits (Robarts diary 19/7/1917 in Clark, 2014b: 64f).

7.5 A Congregational Minister Visits Coranderrk, September 1917

In September 1917 an English Congregational minister visited Coranderrk whilst he was attending a convention in Healesville. He took numerous photographs of his visit (see Figures 7.22–25). These are private photographs of Coranderrk, so they have never been published. Presumably there exist many other similar photographs taken by the many tourists who visited Coranderrk. These non-commercial images are a unique archive and we are fortunate that they have survived and are available as a resource to this study.[138] Figure 7.23 shows a man, I believe to be Lanky Manton, making a fire with a firestick being watched by two young girls, one of whom has her own little grass basket. Lanky Manton (partially obscured) and the same two girls are found in Figure 7.24 which includes a much larger family group.

137 Bunyip township, 77km east of Melbourne.

138 The author purchased these photographs through an auction on Ebay.

Figure 7.22: Coranderrk Aboriginal Settlement, Vic. Sept. 1917. (Author's picture collection)

Figure 7.23: Making fire by friction, Coranderrk. Sept. 1917. (Author's picture collection)

Figure 7.24: Another family, as above. (Author's picture collection)
Man on left hand side (partially obscured) is Lanky Manton.

Figure 7.25: Coranderrk Aboriginal Reservation, Vic. Sept. 1917. (Author's picture collection).

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8 Tourism at Coranderrk After Its Closure In 1924

8.1 The Closure of Coranderrk, February 1924

Charles Robarts, the Coranderrk manager, was advised by the Board in mid-December 1923, that the station would cease operation at the end of January 1924. However, tourism was now Coranderrk's *raison d'etre* (Lydon, 2005: 212), and Robarts responded that this was impractical 'owing to the Xmas and New Year Holidays which extend to the end of January in this Tourist district, hundreds of visitors visit this Station during this period and are entertained by the natives' (Robarts 12/12/1923 in Lydon, 2005: 212). Nevertheless, Robarts's objections came to nothing and in February 1924, Coranderrk was formally closed and reserve lands were opened up for closer settlement. Some fifty acres [20 hectares] were retained for a small number of select families who were allowed to remain there: Annie and Lanky Manton, Mrs Jemima Burns Wandin Dunolly, Alfred Davis and his wife, and William Russell were the 'permitted residents'.

The Argus (19/5/1924) announced the closure of the station:

> VICTORIAN ABORIGINES TRANSFERRED TO LAKE TYERS. Coranderrk Station Closed.
> HEALESVILLE, Sunday- After having been in existence since the early "sixties," the Coranderrk Aborigine Station at Healesville has been closed. This has been brought about by the decision of the Aborigines Protection Board to concentrate the aborigine population of the State at Lake Tyers Mission Station. Coranderrk station was established by the Government at the instance of the late Mr. J. Green, who was in charge of an aborigine encampment on the Acheron River, and he induced these aborigines and those of the Yarra tribe to settle at Coranderrk. Later other aborigines from the Murray were sent along. Mr. Green was the first manager of the station, a position which he occupied until his death, nearly 40 years later. Mr. Charles Robarts was then appointed, and remained in office until February last year, when he relinquished his duties and was appointed an inspector of the Neglected Children and Reformatory schools.
>
> The Coranderrk reserve of 2,000 acres will be handed over by the Aborigines' Protection Board to the Closer Settlement Board for subdivision and sale, but an area of 50 acres to 70 acres will be reserved for the use of seven old aborigines who will remain at Coranderrk, representations having been made to allow them to end their days at the home of their childhood. The rest of the aborigines from the station have been transferred to Lake Tyers. The area to be excised from the station will be bounded by Badger Creek on the south, Dalry road on the east, and the entrance road to the station will form a triangle. The Ministry will provide accommodation and food for the remaining aborigines, and the supervision of affairs will be carried out by the Healesville police.
>
> Years ago Coranderrk was a busy centre, producing large quantities of general farm produce, but of late years cattle breeding and raising has been the chief industry. Right up to the present time, however, the station has been a source of enjoyment and interest to tourists, who visited the place in large numbers, and were given the opportunity of witnessing various aborigine games and customs. All this has now disappeared, as at a clearing sale held by Messrs. Blacker and Co., acting for the Aborigines' Protection Board, cattle, houses, hop kilns, and general farm imple-

> ments were sold. Good prices were obtained all round, the herd of 150 head of mixed cattle, all of which were in excellent condition, reaching a good figure.
>
> In connection with the breaking up of the station the Healesville Tourist and Progress Association has decided to obtain enlarged photographs of King Barak, the last king of the Yarra tribe, who died at Healesville some years ago, and of "Lanky" Manton, the oldest surviving aborigine at the station. These photographs will be framed and hung in the Mechanics' Institute, in the new memorial buildings.

The Healesville Tourist Association had discussed the imminent closure of Coranderrk at its February 1924 meeting and the issue of the Aboriginal legacy of the station was raised:

> Mr. R. Stanley said that in view of Coranderrk Aborigines' Station being practically closed down, it would be a good idea to get a photo of Lanky Manton, the oldest and only full-blooded native in the district. It would be only a matter of time when the black people would remain simply in history. Thousands of people knew "Old Lanky," and he considered it would be very appropriate to have a photo enlargement of him as the oldest black in Healesville, so that it could be placed in the public library in the new hall. It was pointed out by the secretary and Mr. W.B. Phillips that the last of the Yarra tribe, King Barak, died some years ago. While Lanky Manton was oldest black in the district he really belonged to the Murray tribe, from which district he came when Coranderrk was established many years ago. It was eventually decided, on the motion of Mr. R. Stanley and Dr. H. Symonds to procure photo enlargements of King Barak, the last king of the Yarra tribe, and Lanky Manton, the oldest and last full-blooded aborigine in Healesville; the photos to be hung in the public library in the new memorial hall (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 23/2/1924).

Symond's (1982), in her history of Healesville, has argued that Healesville's heyday as a tourist resort was in 1925, the year after the closure of the Coranderrk Aboriginal station. The previous year a census taken on the Healesville Road revealed some 4624 petrol vehicles over five days compared to 610 horse-drawn vehicles. Some 32 large cars were plying the tourist trade over the Blacks' Spur and 42 cabs and cars were available for hire in the town. During the Easter and Christmas holiday periods the town's population increased by eight to ten thousand.

8.2 Frank Latimer and Henry F. Sennett, Art Exhibition October 1924

In the final years of Coranderrk up until its closure in 1924, two Victorian artists Frank Latimer and Henry Sennett were frequent visitors to Coranderrk and Healesville where they painted various scenes at the station, including a portrait of the noted Aboriginal resident Lanky Manton. *The Argus* (28/10/1924) announced and reviewed their exhibition of paintings at the Athenaeum Hall, which opened from 28 October until 8 November 1924. The article reveals that Sennett's paintings included 'Old Hop Kilns, Coranderrk' and 'Yarra Flats, Healesville' and 'Autumn sunrise, Coranderrk' by

Latimer. In November 1924 the Healesville newspaper published an account of the Coranderrk visit of the two artists:

> THE ARTIST IN HEALESVILLE.
> The attention of all lovers of art are drawn to all exhibition of paintings, water colours and drawings- Mr Latimer and Mr Sennett now on display at the Athenaeum Hall, Collins Street. During the past few years these artists have paid periodical visits to Healesville, making many friends and pictures worthy of [...]. Their work has been constantly admired by all who had the good fortune to meet them, and those who have spent pleasant hours in their company can say without hesitation that a day at their exhibition with a glimpse at "Lanky" Manton on canvas, would prove a most enjoyable and beneficent time. Mr. Sennett's picture of the "Hop Kiln on a misty morning is so impressive that one can almost feel the crispness in the air when looking at it, and every artist must admire the magnificence of the beautiful soft, transparent haze which it is the great aim of every artist to reproduce on canvas.
>
> In issuing invitations for their forthcoming exhibition the artists desire to express their thanks to all who, by their presence and patronage, helped make their previous exhibition a success. ... A feature of the work to be exhibited will be a number of pictures painted at Coranderrk, the well-known station for aborigines at Healesville, the courtesy of the superintendent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. C. Robarts, the exhibitors were able to record with brush and pencil, pictures of life and scenery of this home (since closed), of some of Victoria's last-disappearing native population. "Lanky" Manton, the only surviving full-blooded aborigine on the station, forms the subject of a portrait study, a study of the kitchen at his cottage also being presented. The picturesque hop-kilns provide the motif of several landscapes, and "The Last of Coranderrk" – fittingly a sunset study – was painted within a few days of the breaking up of the station (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 1/11/1924).

Henry (Harry) Joseph Sennett (1883?-1955, aged 72), attended the National Gallery of Victoria School, where he was taught by Frederick McCubbin. He was a clerk when he enlisted in the A.I.F. in 1916. In WW1 he served with the 10th Brigade Headquarters (39th Infantry Battalion) A.I.F. in France. Sennett completed a number of drawings and watercolours on the Somme (1917–18). He returned to Australia in April 1919.

Francis (Frank) Latimer (1886–1974), was also taught by Frederick McCubbin at the National Gallery of Victoria School where he was student from 1904 until 1909 (Munster, 1991: 3). He trained as a professional photographer and gave his occupation as artist when he enlisted in the A.I.F. in 1916 – he served in the Australian Flying Corps, No. 2 Squadron Headquarters. He was on hand when Baron Manfred von Richthoffen (The Red Baron) was shot down over Vaux-sur-Somme in France on 21 April 1918 and Latimer provided the official photographs of the fallen flyer and participated in the honour guard that watched over his body before burial (Munster, 1991: 5).[139] He returned to Australia in March 1919.

139 http://www.bayside.vic.gov.au/things_to_see_and_do/walksandtrails_arttrail_fishingnets.htm. Date accessed 1/09/2014. In 1960 Latimer donated a piece of the baron's plane to the Richthofen Museum that he had souvenired. See http://manins.net.au/black-rock/standrews.html – accessed 1/09/2014.

8.3 Six residents remain at Coranderrk, June 1925

In June 1925, long-time friend and advocate for the Coranderrk residents, Anne Bon, published a description of the six Aboriginal people living at Coranderrk in four cottages: Lanky and Annie Manton; Alfred Davis and his wife; Mrs Jemima Dunolly; and Bill Russell.

> Sir,-Having read the statement of the member for Evelyn regarding the inhabitants of Coranderrk, I beg to state that there are only six persons in all. The first house is occupied by a very old pure blooded native, named Lankie [sic] Manton, and his wife, Annie, an aged Christian, but in a very precarious state of health, owing to the forcible removal of her daughter, son-in-law, and three children to Tyers two years ago. They were carried off in a cab by two constables from Healesville as if they had been criminals, in spite of the tears and expostulation of the aged couple, who have been mourning their loss ever since. I have been led to believe that passes have been issued for the restoration of this family to their aged parents. No. 2 cottage is occupied by Alfred Davis and wife, more white than black, family grown up and absent; the third by a very superior half-caste woman (Mrs. Donnolly) [sic], a widow and a true Christian; the fourth by a man (Bill Russell), whose wife prefers to live in New South Wales, and where he ought to be, as he belongs to that State. One hundred acres of land have been set aside for their special use and benefit for life. ... June 15. ANNE F.BON (*The Argus*, 16/6/1925).

8.4 The Mantons move to Lake Tyers, December 1927

In late 1927 two of the permitted Coranderrk residents – Lanky and Annie Manton – left Coranderrk for Lake Tyers. A police officer accompanied them on their journey:

> BLACK DARBY AND JOAN 84-Year-Old Aboriginal Couple STILL FAVOR FIRESTICK (By a Victorian Contributor)
> It is claimed for "Lanky" Manton that he is the oldest aborigine in Victoria. He and his wife are 84 years of age, and have gone from Coranderrk, Healesville, to the Lake Tyers aboriginal settlement, where they will end their days. People called him "Lanky" – the name that has stuck to the old blackfellow all his life – because of his small stature, he is 5 ft. in height. The old couple lived for a while at Lake Tyers, but Mrs. "Lanky" sighed for the beauties of Healesville, and they were permitted to live there for a while. However, "Lanky," the lord and master of Manton camp has hankered after Lake Tyers. That's where the old darkey's heart had longed to be. Recently they were escorted there from Healesville by Mrs. Cook, policewoman, who enjoyed the task, for the old black Darby and Joan were an amusing couple.
>
> His False Teeth
> "Lanky's" pack consisted of a fire stick, some boomerangs, a small box containing a few letters and photographs in it, and a mincing machine. 'Lanky" goes nowhere without it. When he smiles he shows his old gums, and says that the mincer is his set of false teeth. His deep regret when he and his wife set out for Lake Tyers was the parting from his little dog, an animal of the nondescript breed, always seen about the blackfellows' camps. On a former journey "Lanky" started, with a number of cats as travelling companions. He managed to get them on to the railway station, but the station officials had their own ideas about cats in the circumstances, and Lanky had to part company with his feline guard of honor.

"Beats My Firestick"
"Lanky" and his lady enjoyed every minute of their journey from Melbourne to Lake Tyers. He says that the electric light "beats my firestick holler" in Melbourne, but "not in the bush, where you can't carry 'Jectrie wires about." The white-bearded laughing little old man and his wife were objects of keen interest to the other travellers in the train, and they were like children going to a picnic. "Lanky" insisted on being told the name of every station they passed. "What this?" he asked at one place. "Longwarry," said the policewoman. "Like 'im," interjected Mrs. Lanky, addressing the old man, Worry, worry, always worry. "Nem-mine," shot back Lanky like a cornerman, "all die by-and-bye. So no worry." (Shrill laughter from "Lanky".)

Prefers Eels to Eggs
At Warragul they stayed for the night, and the following morning "Lanky" was up bright and early on the prowl for his food. He disputed the claim of a fowl to the eggs on which it had been "set," but he gave way to the fowl when he was told that he was being supplied with porridge and fish. He expressed preference for eels rather than eggs. The arrival at Nowa Nowa was the occasion for a wonderful reception. The old people were to go out to Lake Tyers by motor car. Several who called themselves sons and daughters and grandchildren swarmed on the car like bees, and a score of youngsters screamed, "Here's granny," and Mrs. "Lanky" greeted all with great dignity and affection. She and "Lanky" were driven off in state. When they reached Lake Tyers, "Lanky's" last request was that he should be photographed. The policewoman snapped him, and Lanky says that it's the best "Crismus" card "that has ever been sent through the post" (*News*, 21/12/1927).

Within eighteen months of moving to Lake Tyers Lanky Manton had died. In announcing his death, the *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (1/6/1929) noted that Lanky 'was a well-known identity at Healesville, and even although he did not actually belong to the Yarra Yarra tribe, having originally come from the Murray, he had spent more than 50 years at Healesville. He was recognised as the successor to King Barack, the last chief of the Yarra Yarra tribe. Lanky was stated to be 85 years of age at the time of death'. The *Albany Advertiser* (8/6/1929) confirmed to its readers that: 'The death occurred at Lake Tyers aboriginal station on Sunday morning of last week of Benjamin Manton. Manton, who was known as "Lanky," was the oldest full blooded aborigine on the station; it is believed that he was aged nearly 100 years. He was cattle droving when Burke and Wills crossed the Murray. Manton was deservedly popular among the officials and the aborigines at Lake Tyers, and his death is much regretted'.

8.5 Meeting Mrs Dunolly, August 1930

In 1930 the sister of a former Coranderrk manager (presumably, Charles Robarts) and her nephew went to Coranderrk to take photographs of the station and the last of the residents permitted to live there. It is an interesting article – one resident refuses to pose for photographs if they are going to be published in newspapers and another expects a sitting fee. The photographer promised to send them copies of the photographs.

Coranderrk To-day ABORIGINAL STATION CRUMBLING TO DECAY.
By "Heck."
When I announced my intention of visiting Coranderrk for the purpose of photographing the aboriginals Auntie Jennie said she would accompany me, because some years ago her brother had been resident manager there, and Auntie, who has a soft spot in her heart for the natives, was keen to view again some of the scenes of where, as a girl, she had stayed for weekends at the station. The morning was bright and sunny, a fact which, from an amateur photographer's point of view, was satisfactory. When Sunny brought the car round at eleven we were not long in piling in; Auntie, of course, sitting in the back seat, with myself and the Graflex alongside Sunny at the wheel. Auntie had a rather rough passage, especially along Dalry road, where the bumps would often send her bounding to the roof. She was awfully brave and good natured about it, though, being content to put up with some discomfort in exchange for the joyful prospect of exploring Coranderrk.

Soon after our arrival, and when Auntie had taken a first view of the almost deserted station which years ago had been the home of a few hundred aboriginals who were subsequently removed to Lake Tyers. Auntie told Sunny and me how very different the place now was from what it used to be. We could see how the brick buildings were bare and broken and decayed; the whole place had an air of desolation that made us all feel miserable. Ruins are sad things at any time, and to Auntie, who knew the crumbling walls when they were strong and upright and resounding with the busy life of the station, they were indeed unhappy relics of a most historic past.

Presently we were joined by Mrs. Dunolly, aged 90 years, but looking no more than 45. Sunny asked her what kind of diet she preferred, and Mrs. Dunolly answered that the secret of longevity was eating plain and wholesome food. She said that at the station years ago the only food they ate on Sundays was milk and rice. But of course that was only one day in the week, and no doubt on the others they ate whatever came along, especially wombats. With the help of Mrs. Dunolly I was able to get pictures of six or seven of the natives who live in the lonely little cottages. Had it not been for her I don't think I would have been successful, because they were not keen to have them taken. One fellow said that if they were going to be "put in any papers" they would not pose at all. Another, fat, elderly and rather jolly, said, "Say, boss, you gibbit shillin'." Evidently I was too ready to comply, for he quickly raised the price: "No, boss, you gibbit two shillin'!" He certainly had an eye to business, and would not be denied.

After I had made the pictures and promised to send a copy to them all, Mrs. Dunolly showed us what used to be the church, but was now being utilised by her son for wool sorting. "He's a returned soldier, and out of work," she explained, "and is running a few sheep on the hills." On being asked if she would like the old days back again, Mrs. Dunolly answered, "Oh, yes, there are no times like the past. The station was self-supporting for 12 years. We grew our own corn and raised our own stock. The statement in 'The Guardian' that the station was established in 1859 is wrong: it was 1861. Mr. Smyth urged Mr Green to have us governed by the Aborigines' Board." "Have you any family, Mrs. Dunolly?" Sunny asked. "I had nine children," the old lady wistfully replied, "five boys and four girls. My eldest son is 54."

After I had climbed the highest hill to get a panorama of the station, it was time for us to go. From the window of her little cottage set behind some darkening trees the old lady waved good-bye. A few children eyed us from the doorsteps, and a dog barked hollowly from within a tumbled ruin. Such is Coranderrk to-day – lonely, sad – haunted by the shadows of the past (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 23/8/1930).

8.6 Conclusion

Columnist and author Peter Ryan (2013: 110) recently recalled a holiday he spent in Healesville when he was about ten years of age. Ryan was born in September 1923, so this would make the holiday 1933 or 1934. His reminiscence of his visit to the entrance to Coranderrk reminds me of the fear and fascination that the children in Harper Lee's classic novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* had for their 'exotic' neighbour Boo Radley. Ryan's reminiscence is a fitting closure to this study because it shows that the connection between tourism at Healesville and Coranderrk still existed despite its closure in 1924. A visit to Coranderrk was still one of the things you did when you went to Healesville – it was one of the 'outings' to use the language of the early twentieth century.

> At about ten, with five or six other kids, I spent a holiday week at the timber-and-tourist town of Healesville, in the hills not far from Melbourne. On a spread of rather barren nearby acres was the Aboriginal "reserve" of Coranderrk, burial place of Barak, last survivor of the Yarra-Yarra tribe. We kids decided to walk our way out along the Dalry Road to Coranderrk and "look at the Aborigines". This seemed to be an adventure of great danger and daring, though of what we were so scared I cannot imagine. Did we run the risk of being speared and cooked in a pot for some Aborigines' lunch? Something diabolical, certainly. Our little bare legs carried us to Coranderrk's rough bush gate, through which we peered, and in the distance we could see five or six children playing on the ground in front of some huts – very much as we might have been ourselves. They were too far away for us to tell even the colour of their faces. But honour was satisfied, and we set off on the long walk back to our guesthouse. *We had seen the Aborigines!*

The children that Ryan and his young friends saw playing at Coranderrk were more than likely great grandchildren of Mrs Jemima Dunolly and the other residents. Mrs Dunolly died in early 1944, the last of the six permitted residents who had been allowed to spend their remaining years at Coranderrk (Barwick, 1998). After the Second World War, the reservation of the remaining Coranderrk land was cancelled and the last 1700 acres sold off for soldier settlement (Nanni & James, 2013: 188). Today, all that remains of the original reserve in Aboriginal control is a half-acre cemetery. How many visitors to the Healesville Sanctuary, a zoo specializing in indigenous Australian animals with over 200 species of native fauna, realise that they are standing on land that was once part of the Coranderrk Aboriginal station?

But that is not the end of the story for there were hundreds of other people – descendants of the families who had built Coranderrk – living on Woiwurrung lands in the Healesville district and in towns in Kulin-related lands in northern Victoria; others were at Cumeroogunga and other localities in New South Wales. Coranderrk continued to be a site of tourist interest and the Coranderrk descendants who lived in the local district continued to involve themselves in tourism activities, but this is a history that will need to be the subject of another study.

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Appendix 8.1 Portraits of Coranderrk Station Managers and Their Families

This appendix presents biographical histories of each superintendent and acting manager; it reveals what I have been able to learn about their backgrounds, their lives before and after Coranderrk and their immediate families. One of the purposes of these portraits is to correct some of the ignorance and misinformation surrounding some of these men and women. Four Aboriginal stations have existed in the Upper Yarra region: three were short-lived, Acheron (1859–1860) and Mohican (1860–1862, two sites), however Coranderrk operated from 1863 until its closure in 1924. Some 13 men and two women served as either superintendent, or acting manager (see Table 8.1).

Of these, the three longest-serving superintendents are relatively well known: John Green – largely through the works of Massola (1975); Barwick (1998); Broome (2006), and Clark and Cahir (2014); Joseph Shaw – principally through the publications by his daughter Ethel Shaw (1943; 1949); and Charles Robarts through the recent work of Clark (2014a). Another two superintendents are well-known through their long associations with Aboriginal missions and stations: Rev. Stähle – Ebenezer, Coranderrk, and Lake Condah – and William Goodall: Framlingham and Coranderrk. The other superintendents are less well known: Robert Hickson, Christian Ogilvie, Hugh Halliday, and Rev. Philip Strickland. Biographies of the four acting managers are somewhat limited and they require more research: Thomas Harris, Nina Robertson, John Mackie, and Frank Bulmer.

Robert Onslow Bellerophon Hickson: March 1859 – January 1862

Background

Robert Onslow Bellerophon Hickson (b. 18/1/1839, Zante, Greece – d. 31/1/1892, aged 53, Auburn –see Reg. # 2537 & *The Argus* 5/2/1892)[140] married Emily Villeneufve

140 Hickson was baptised on 1 July 1842 at St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich, Greenwich – see London Metropolitan Archives, St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich, Register of Baptisms, Apr. 1839-May 1843, p97/mry/018.

Table 8.1: Superintendents at Acheron, Mohican, and Coranderrk Aboriginal Stations

Name	Position of Responsibility	Duration
Robert Onslow Bellerophon Hickson	Superintendent at Acheron & Mohican stations	March 1859 – January 1862
John Green	Superintendent at Mohican and Coranderrk stations	January 1862 – September 1874
Rev. Johann Heinrich Stähle	Superintendent at Coranderrk	October 1874 – September 1875
Christian Splidt Ogilvie	Superintendent at Coranderrk	September 1875 – March 1876
Nina Robertson & Thomas Harris	acting managers during Ogilvie's absence	November 1875-December 1875
Hugh Hamilton Halliday	Superintendent at Coranderrk	March 1876 – September 1878
Rev. Frederick Philip Strickland	Superintendent at Coranderrk	September 1878 – June 1882
William Goodall	Superintendent at Coranderrk	June 1882 – January 1886
Joseph Shaw	Superintendent at Coranderrk	January 1886 – June 1908
Ethel Shaw and John Mackie	acting managers during Shaw's six months' leave of absence	April 1903 – October 1903
John Mackie and Frank Tyers Bulmer	acting managers	June 1908 – January 1909
Charles Alfred Robarts	Superintendent at Coranderrk	January 1909 – February 1924

Watton (b. 11/6/1833, Saint Pancras, Middlesex – d. 1904, Albert Park – see Reg. # 11053)[141] in early 1859 (see Reg. # 1251).[142]

Robert Hickson was one of 14 children born to Major John Annesley Hickson (1798–1858, New Zealand) and Elizabeth Pleasant Williams (1803–1866) married 27/12/1821, Clontarf, Ireland. Emily Watton was the youngest daughter of Dr John Edward Watton and Harriet Maria Ludlow. The Wattons had been in Victoria since 1839 when they took up Exford station (aka Mount Cottrel) on the junction of the Werribee River and Toolern Creek, on the boundary between Woiwurrung and Wathawurrung peoples. Dr Watton had served as Medical Officer in Charge of the Mount Rouse Aboriginal Protectorate Station at Penshurst from 1842 until its closure in late 1849. Emily Watton lived with her family at Mount Rouse and had a long association with Aboriginal people.

141 Emily was born 11 June 1833 and baptised on 4 July 1833 at Saint Pancras, Camden. (See London Metropolitan Archives, St Pancras, Camden, Register of baptisms, May 1832-Feb 1834, p90/pan1/018).
142 Emily's maternal grandmother was Ann Elizabeth Villeneuve.

Immediate Family

Robert and Emily Hickson had 13 children between 1860 and 1886, the first two of whom were born at Acheron:[143]

- Elizabeth Adelaide ('Bessie') Hickson (b. 26/1/1860, Acheron – Reg. # 21167 – d. 19/9/1926, Normanby Road, Caulfield – *The Argus*, 10/9/1926); married Sir William Henry Wastell, Baronet[144] (b. 18/4/1823 – d. 28/5/1900, Bruce Street, Toorak, aged 77 – *The Australasian*, 2/6/1900) on 12/2/1884 at Wellington, New Zealand (*The Argus*, 18/2/1884).[145]
- Frances Mary ('Fanny') Hickson (b. 8 July 1861, 'at the Ackeron River, Aboriginal Settlement'[146] (see *The Argus*, 20/7/1861) – Reg. # 15730 – d. 2/5/1933, Rotorua, New Zealand); married John Sinclair (St. Clair) (b.17/7/1859, Auckland, New Zealand – d. 5/11/1923, Rotorua, New Zealand) on 3/12/1886, Auckland, New Zealand (*Evening Post*, 6/12/1886);
- Harriet Maria ('Minnie') Hickson (b. 13/4/1863, Broken River, Reg. # 8896 – d. 13/7/1925, Auckland, New Zealand – *New Zealand Herald* 14/7/1925); married Charles Hawker Wilson (1862- 26/9/1920, Coromandel Hospital, New Zealand – *New Zealand Herald*, 27/9/1920) on 26/2/1894, Rotorura, New Zealand (*New Zealand Herald*, 23/3/1894).
- Emily Matilda Hickson (b. 28/9/1864, Mansfield – Reg. # 23053 – d. 1946, Alexandra, aged 81) married Thomas Sherbourne Farrer (b. 21/12/1862, St Pancras – d. 2/4/1948, Station Street, Box Hill, in his 87th year – *The Argus*, 5/4/1948), Est. 1884, New Zealand;[147]
- Hickson Hickson [F] (b. 1866, Mansfield – Reg. # 15801 – d.1866?);[148]
- James Moore ('Jim') (aka 'Healer Hickson') Hickson (b. 13/8/1868, Broken River – Reg. # 24422 – d. 14/11/1933); married Emily Rosalie ('Rose') Harrison (b. 23/7/1869 – d. 15/12/1947, Hove, England – *The Argus*, 20/12/1947) 14/10/1891, Kew (*Table Talk*, 30/10/1891; *The Argus*, 27/10/1891).
- William Henry Watton ('Willie') (a.k.a. 'Ambling Bill)[149] Hickson (b. 15/6/1870, Mansfield, Reg. # 17046 – d.?);[150]
- Eliza Constance Hickson (b. 16/8/1872, Mansfield, Reg. # 17418 – d. 13/12/1942, Preston); married William Carrington (b. 1857? – d. 23/12/1906, aged 49) on

143 See http://boards.ancestry.com.au/localities.britisles.ireland.ker.general/754.1244.2.2.2/mb.ashx

144 See https://histfam.familysearch.org//getperson.php?personID=I210795&tree=Nixon.

145 This was Wastell's second marriage – his first wife Philadelphia Tanner died in 1878.

146 Birthplace as Yea, according to the birth registration record.

147 See http://www.saxonlodge.net/getperson.php?personID=I2429&tree=Tatham.

148 The birth registration record lists 'Hickson Hickson'.

149 See *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser*, 12/1/1914 for an account of the origin of this name.

150 Known to be living in the Warragul district of west Gippsland in 1914. A William Joseph Hickson (Parents: Robert Hickson & Emily French), d. 1943, aged 60 (see Reg. # 15377).

23/1/1893 at East Melbourne (*The Argus*, 1/2/1893); married George Edward William Scott (b. 20/10/1884 – d. 1972, Heidelberg) on 7/4/1908, Collingwood.[151]

- Florence Louisa ('Florrie') Hickson (b. 16/8/1874, Broken River, Reg. # 21258 – d.?); married August Johannes Jacoby (b. 1862, Hamburg, Germany – d. 1922, Hamburg, Germany).[152]
- Annabel Millicent Ludlow Hickson (b. 11/1/1876 – d.?); married Lieut. Walter Seigur (b.? – d.?) (son of General Seigur of the German army).
- Mabel Isabella Hickson (b. 1877, Broken River, Reg. # 833[153] – d.?);
- Catherine Charlotte Dickson (Dixon) ('Kitty') Hickson (b. 14/7/1878, Kew, Reg. # 17249- d. after 1958);[154] married George Hamilton Moody (b. 29/10/1877, Adelaide – d. after 1949)[155] in 1902.
- Robert Theodore Freeman ('Theo') Hickson (b. 28/8/1886 – d. after 1925).

Life before Acheron/Mohican

The Hickson family have a long association with New Zealand where Major John Annesley Hickson and his family arrived on the troopship 'Ann' on 16 May 1848. He was a staff officer at Pensioners (late 31st Regiment) at Otahuhu, Auckland (*The Cobargo Chronicle*, 2/8/1907). Many of Robert Hickson's siblings remained in New Zealand. It is unclear when Robert Hickson arrived in the Upper Yarra district but Thomas's diary entries indicate that the Aboriginal people in that district had known him for some time.

Mark Hutchinson (2010) in a study of James Moore Hickson, the famous Anglican evangelical healer or as he describes him the 'miracle-working accountant', has looked into his family origins:

> The Hicksons were part of the great Anglo-Irish exodus into the world, taking with them their high standards of education (particularly in medicine, literature and law) and their expectations of both rule and prosperity. Their religion was, in large part, a passionate connection to the Anglicanism of the Church of Ireland which, a church defined during the 1820s and 1830s by the tension between the religion of the ruling classes (Tory High Anglicanism) and the expansion of

151 See http://www.upperbeac.rocke.id.au/g6/p6797.htm

152 The *Daily Herald*, 8/12/1919 published a list of government revocations of certificates of naturalisation – it included 6965 August Johannes Jacoby 22 October 1919. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28/6/1887 included a notice from the Imperial German Consulate asking for August Joh. Jacoby of Hamburg to make contact with the Consulate in Pitt Street, Sydney. For more information see http://www.geni.com/people/August-Jacoby/6000000029016034642. Jacoby is related to Richard Wagner, the noted composer. August and Florence had six children in Australia between 1896 and 1908: see http://www.geni.com/people/Florence-Jacoby/6000000029016302349. The details of her death are yet to be determined.

153 Birth registration entry spells forename 'Mable'.

154 According to Australian Electoral Rolls – living in District of Lilley, Queensland in 1958.

155 Living in Sydney in 1949 – see *The Courier-Mail*, 15/2/1949.

> evangelical Biblicism. The key filtering events for Hickson's family religion were the successive hammer blows of Catholic emancipation, the reform of Church of Ireland temporalities, Famine and the rising tide of violence in Ireland. The religious response was Darbyite premillennialism, a fascination with biblical prophecy, and an incarnationalism which took the form of, on the one hand, social activism through the Irish national schools, and on the other, a fully blown theology of healing. ... Hickson's paternal side also had Irish connections. His father (Robert Onslow Bellerophon) was born in Zante, Greece while his father (Quartermaster with the 73rd Regiment in the Mediterranean, and later commander of the 6th Detachment of Fencibles sent to defend the early Auckland settlement) was on military duty there, and named after the ship captained by John Nelson Darby's uncle at the Battle of the Nile, the Bellerophon.
>
> Hickson's mother's side were landed gentry in Wiltshire (the Ludlows of Hill Deverill) who, through this Southampton branch of the family, gave generations to service in India – including three uncles (one of which, Major General John Ludlow, married into the Leigh Smith family) and numerous cousins. ... Little is known of Robert Hickson's spirituality, and his son was hardly ever to mention him in printed form, leaving a considerable lacuna in our understanding of the transmission of influence. Chant suggests that the Western District of Victoria had been touched by revival, a distant reflection of the simultaneous and more widespread events of 1858 in Ireland, and this may have been an influence on the senior Hickson's choice of service. His problems with conniving white squatters suggest a highly conscientious nature, something he held onto until dismissed because of conflict over the appropriate way to treat Aboriginal people. ... From his mother he gained a sense that the Person and Presence of Jesus was real. ... She was 'a good Christian woman with deep spiritual insight and a most loving and affectionate nature', and Hickson would repeatedly locate to her credit all that he would become.[156]

Life after Acheron

After their resignation, the Hicksons moved to Broken River, Mansfield, where the remainder of their family was born (excepting the two youngest children), presumably to live near Emily's sister Harriet Maria Watton who was married to lawyer, pastoralist, and banker James Moore, licensee of Barjarg Station on the Broken River, near Mansfield. Emily's brother Edmund Watton and his family were also at Barjarg Station (*The Argus*, 22/6/1861). In 1880, Robert Hickson was working as an overseer at Essendon (*The Argus*, 20/2/1880). At the time of his death in 1892, they were resident at Victoria Road, Auburn (*The Argus*, 5/2/1892).

John Green: January 1862 – September 1874

When the Hicksons resigned in January 1862, John Green, the Board's General Inspector was given responsibility for the Upper Yarra Aboriginal station at Mohican, although he had been effectively running it from the previous month. In March 1862 the station moved a little distance to the north, but still remained within the boundaries

156 M. Hutchinson (2010) 'The Worcester Circle: An Anglo-Catholic Attempt at Renewal" in *ReVeal*, http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/reveal/2010/worcester-circle-anglo-catholic-attempt-renewal-19/ accessed 13/11/2014.

of the Mohican pastoral run. At the same time Green permanently relocated his family to the new site. This site was eventually abandoned because it was deemed too cold, and in 1863 the Coranderrk station was established on Coranderrk Creek (also known as Badger Creek), south of Healesville.

Background

John Green (b.1830, Keigh, Aberdeenshire, Scotland – d. 20/8/1908, aged 78, *The Australasian* 29/8/1908) married Mary Smith Benton (b.1835 – d. 6/7/1919, at 'Goorngalang',[157] Healesville, aged 84 – *The Argus*, 7/7/1919) on 24 August 1857 at Free Kirk of Scotland in Keigh, Scotland. John Green was born into a farming family; Mary Smith Benton was the daughter of a blacksmith.

Immediate Family

The Greens had twelve children between 1858 and 1878. Over three fateful days between 5–8 January 1876 diphtheria claimed the lives of six of their children.[158]

- William Green (b. 1858, Yering, Reg. # 3588 – d. 22/5/1883, Reg. # 5364, at 'Glenfern', Healesville, aged 24 – *Illustrated Australian News*, 13/6/1883); married Elizabeth Lucas (b. 1854? – d. 1884, Ensay, aged 30 – Reg. # 63), February 1881 (Reg. # 1335) at the Registry Office, Fitzroy.
- Deborah Green (b. 1860, Yering, Reg. # 6182 – d. 23/7/1901, aged 41, at Singleton, N.S.W. – *Singleton Argus* 27/7/1901); married Thomas Alderson Fawcett (b. 1853, Camperdown, N.S.W.[159] – d. 20/6/1922, aged 68 – *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21/6/1922; *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 20/6/1922).
- Zipporah ('Zippy' 'Zippie') Green (b. 1861, Yering, Reg. # 05897- d. 3/8/1943, at Cremorne, NSW, aged 82 – *The Argus*, 7/8/1943); married James Milne (b.? – d. betw. 1915 – 1943?), at 'Goorngalong', Fernshawe Road, Healesville, 15/9/1886 – Reg. # 4509 (*The Argus*, 2/10/1886; *The Australasian*, 9/10/1886).
- Mary Green (b. 1863, Acheron, Reg. # 2705 – d. 29/7/1944, at Vincent St, Glen Iris, aged 81 – *The Argus*, 1/8/1944);
- John Green (b. 1865, Coranderrk, Healesville, Reg. # 2938 – d. 14/1/1897, Mambere River Goldfields district, British New Guinea – *Singleton Argus*, 3/3/1897);[160]

157 There are various spellings of their house name – this is the correct title. According to John Mathew (Papers), it is taken from the Woiwurrung word for the stone quartz found in the Healesville district.

158 Lucas, E. (2012) 'Mary Smith Benton – a Missionary's Wife' – September 2012 Writing Competition winning entry: https://www.gsq.org.au/index.php/services/journal/recent-articles/157-september-2012

159 http://www.jenwilletts.com/searchaction.php?page=2&surname=Fawcett&ship=&firstname=

160 See articles in *The Maitland Weekly Mercury* (6/3/1897) and *The Healesville Guardian* (10/9/1897) to learn more about John Green's murder.

- Margaret Green (b. 1866, Coranderrk, Reg. # 21820 – d. 1/1876, Coranderrk, aged 9, Reg. # 1909);
- Hannah Green (b. 1868, Healesville, Reg. 16696 – d. 1/1876, Coranderrk, aged 7, Reg. # 1906);
- James Green (b. 1870, Healesville, Reg. # 23568 – d. 1/1876, Coranderrk, aged 5, Reg. # 1905);
- Joseph Benton Green (b. 1872, Healesville, Reg. #. 2956 – d. 1/1876, Coranderrk, aged 4, Reg. # 1907);
- Donald Green (b. 1873, Healesville, Reg. # 24467 – d. 1/1876, Coranderrk, aged 2, Reg. # 1908);
- Adah (Ada) Green (b. 1875, Healesville, Reg. # 16511 – d. 1/1876, Coranderrk, aged 8 months, Reg. # 1910);
- Rhoda Green (b.1878, Healesville, Reg. # 9557 – d. 1967, aged 89); married Walter George Parkinson (b. 1881 – d. 1970, Canterbury, aged 89 – Reg. # 4272) of London, at the home of her sister Zipporah Milne: 'Kooramil', Burke Road, Camberwell on 30 December 1913, Reg. # 10476 (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 9/1/1914).[161]

Life before Coranderrk

Soon after their wedding in August 1857, the Greens left for Australia and arrived in Melbourne on 27 November 1857 per *David G. Fleming*.[162] Green attended a lecture in the YMCA in Melbourne where he heard of the plight of Aboriginal people and resolved to do what he could to help them. He then immersed himself in evangelical efforts, working as a Presbyterian lay preacher and bush missionary to Europeans on the goldfields near Anderson's Creek, Doncaster, and Lilydale. In 1860 he began to hold services for Aboriginal families at Yering station, on the Yarra River, near Yarra Glen, or in Massola's (1975: 15) words 'Each Sunday, in pursuance of his earlier resolve, he travelled 'about eight miles' to visit an Aboriginal camp and endeavoured to evangelise them and convince them to live like white men'. Massola (1975: 101) speculates that the campsite was probably at Kurrun-yerang (wattle-scrub), a deep waterhole about 600m north of Chateau Yering homestead. At that time, the property belonged to the de Castella family who were sympathetic to local Aboriginal families. According to Barwick (1998: 55) the Greens evangelised the Woiwurrung who lived in the Doncaster region, having success with William Barak and others who converted to Christianity. Attwood has described John Green as an outsider who was 'a young, idealistic and obstinate man who passionately identified with the plight of the down-trodden' (see Broome, 2006: 43.4).

161 The *Healesville Guardian* (13/11/1943) provides some information on Aboriginal placenames in the Healesville district some of which was sourced from 'Mrs. Parkinson (nee Rhoda Green)'.

162 Woiwod (2012: 28) claims the vessel was the Black Ball line *Horizon*.

Rev. Robert Hamilton, a close friend of Green and the Coranderrk residents, has written of Green's earlier association with the Coranderrk people:

> Mr John Green ... is a Christian man, and has for a considerable number of years interested himself in the instruction and in the temporal welfare chiefly of the Yarra blacks. Settled as an evangelist among the white population in the district of Brushy Creek, he voluntarily interested himself in the religious improvement of the miserable remnant of the Yarra tribe. ... Mr Green, therefore, has gradually acquired an ascendancy over them by the deep interest he has taken in their welfare — especially in their spiritual and everlasting welfare. While seeking their good in the highest of all interests, he was brought into correspondence with the Government board for the protection of aborigines, and was entrusted with dispensing rations to them. By his deep interest in the well-being of the blacks, both for time and eternity, and by his skill, good sense and happy tact in dealing with the natives, the board found in Mr Green one eminently fitted to serve them in accomplishing the objects for which they were appointed. Accordingly, he has been appointed general-inspector of the blacks throughout the colony, and has done eminent service by travelling all over the colony at the call of the board, securing accurate information respecting the wretched natives, stirring up local interests in their behalf, and, in many ways, promoting their interests. About three years ago, Mr Green succeeded in persuading the Yarra and Goulburn blacks to join together in forming a settlement on the Goulburn reserve, engaging, of course, to settle among them himself, that he might have the opportunity, while directing them in temporal matters, of instructing them in divine truth (*The Age*, 6/8/1864).

Life after Coranderrk

After his resignation in October 1874 the family moved to 'Goorngalang', their farm adjoining Coranderrk, on Fernshawe Rd, Healesville where he had his own hop garden (Symonds, 1982: 40).[163] They lived there for the remainder of their lives busying themselves in the life of Healesville. The Coranderrk residents visited the Greens for counsel and friendship until John Green died in 1908 (see Barwick 1998: 31, 303). In 1887 John Green was elected a councillor in the first elections of the newly gazetted Shire of Healesville and local historian Symonds (1982: 48) has reproduced a photograph of the first council including Green. Green also served as Justice of the Peace. In August 1907 the Healesville community celebrated the Golden Wedding anniversary of John and Mary Green. Those who spoke at the celebration included Joseph Shaw the Coranderrk superintendent. A year later, the *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (28/8/1908) announced the death of John Green. The newspaper published a more detailed obituary a week later. The *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (26/7/1919) published an obituary in honour of Mary Green.

163 Barwick (1998: 91) suggests Green and Harris purchased land adjoining Coranderrk in 1865 and 1869, partly to have a voice in local politics and to protect the reserve from less sympathetic neighbours.

Rev. Johann Heinrich Stähle: October 1874 – September 1875

Rev. J. Henrich Stähle, who had been appointed teacher in April 1874, served as superintendent for twelve months until he was dismissed in September 1875.

Background

Johann Heinrich Stähle (1840–1915), Moravian missionary, was born in 1840 at Alpirsbach, in the German kingdom of Würrtemberg, son of Johann Heinrich Stähle, manufacturer, and his wife Katherina Elizabeth, née Trion. He was twice-married. In 1871 he married Marie Magdelene Stainer,[164] a Moravian sister. In October 1872 Marie died giving birth to a daughter, who also died a month later. On 19 November 1874 he married Mary Anne McLean, a governess from Scotland, then also living at Coranderrk.[165] Mary Anne (Annie) McLean (b. c. 1854?) died on 16/12/1930, Glenhuntly, aged 76, Reg. # 13821 (*The Argus*, 19/12/1930), Chalmer's Presbyterian Church, Melbourne, with Lutheran rites.

Immediate Family

Johann Heinrich and Mary Anne Stähle had seven children between 1875 and 1890. Their first child was born during their short tenure at Coranderrk.

- Marie Chisholm Stähle (b. 1875, Healesville, Reg. # 23428 – d. July 1953, *The Argus*, 14/7/1953); married James Lindsay (b. 1860 – d. 1942)[166] on 2/9/1897 at Lake Condah Mission, Reg. # 5522 (*The Argus*, 25/9/1897);
- Heinrich Wilhelm Stähle (b. 1877, Condah, Reg # 14669 – d. 1878, 2 weeks, Reg. # 1137);
- Herbert Charles Eugene (Bert) Stähle (b. 1879, Condah, Reg. # 08397 – d.?) [still living in 1954 – Australian electoral roll – in District of Latrobe, Melbourne];
- John August(e) Norman (Norman) Stähle (b. 1881, Hamilton, Reg. # 03251 – d. 15/8/1963);
- Isabella Fannie Rose (Dolly/Dollie) Stähle (b.1883, Portland, Reg. # 25562 – d. 1946) married Robert Francis Oswald Lindsay (b. 1881- d. 1944)[167] on 19/8/1912 at Lake Condah (*The Argus* 11/9/1912)
- Ebenezer Stähle (b. 1888, Hamilton, Reg. 3506 – d. 1888, Condah, aged 1 day old, Reg. # 1841).

164 Jensz (2010: 188) states her name was Maria Magdalena Stamm.

165 According to Jensz (2010:188), McLean was a former schoolteacher at Coranderrk. See Reg. # 4748.

166 http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/c/h/a/Malcolm-L-Chaplin/ODT2–0001.html

167 http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/c/h/a/Malcolm-L-Chaplin/ODT2–0001.html

- Annie Marguerite (Rita) Stähle (b. 1890, Ballarat, Reg. # 482 – d. 1929, at 3 Culma St., Glenhuntly, aged 37, Reg. 1547 (see obituary in *Portland Guardian*, 25/2/1929 and probate notice in *The Argus*, 27/2/1929).
- Adopted daughter Edith (listed in Mary Anne Stähle's death notice).

Life before Coranderrk

Robert Kenny has published the following biography of Johann Heinrich Stähle:

> Young Johann served on the medical staff of the Prussian Army in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) then entered the seminary of the Moravian Church to train as a missionary. He was ordained in 1871 and married Marie Magdelene Stainer, a Moravian sister. The Stähles reached Melbourne from England in the *Essex* in May 1872 and took charge of the school at the Ebenezer Aboriginal mission in the Wimmera, then under the management of F.W. Spieseke. In October Marie died giving birth to a daughter, who also died a month later. These deaths may have contributed to Stähle's decision to leave the mission, although his then deficiency in English (expressed in a letter back to Germany) probably made teaching difficult. He was appointed manager at the government mission at Coranderrk near Melbourne early in 1874.[168]

Life after Coranderrk

Kenny continues his biographical history:

> In 1875 Stähle accepted an offer from the Church of England to take charge of its Aboriginal mission at Lake Condah in the Western District of Victoria. His second marriage, to a non-Moravian, apparently led to a withdrawal of Moravian recognition of his ordination. Refusing to be re-ordained as an Anglican, he was thus limited as a minister, not being permitted to conduct Holy Communion. He managed Lake Condah for most of its existence. As for most mission managers of this period, reports of his conduct at Lake Condah ran to extremes: that he was beloved by the Aborigines, or hated and resisted. He was certainly authoritarian, causing rebellious reaction from such Aborigines as Ernest Mobourne. ... Stähle was naturalized in January 1898. He and his wife resigned when the mission closed in June 1913 and lived on a pension at Portland. John Henry Stahle, as he was by now generally known,[169] died there on 23 August 1915 and was buried in the local cemetery with Anglican rites. His estate was sworn for probate at £5676. His wife and their three daughters and four sons survived him.

168 Robert Kenny, 'Stähle, Johann Heinrich (1840–1915)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stahle-johann-heinrich-13204/text23905, published in hardcopy 2005, accessed online 12 November 2014.

169 In March 1895, for example, he was named as John Henry Stahle in a newspaper article (see *Portland Guardian,* 25/3/1895).

Christian Splidt Ogilvie: September 1875 – March 1876

Background

Christian Splidt Ogilvie was born on 19 August 1820, in Greenwich, Kent, England, to Patrick and Eleanor Ogilvie.[170] He was one of ten children. Christian S. Ogilvie died on 19 September 1883 at Penola, in South Australia, and was buried in the Penola Cemetery two days later.[171] Ogilvie never married.

Life before Coranderrk

Ogilvie arrived in Australia on 15 May 1839 per *Ann* from Gravesend and was a cabin passenger (*Sydney Gazette & New South Wales Advertiser*, 16/5/1839). In 1848, living in Melbourne, he contributed an essay on catarrh in sheep to the New South Wales Select Committee's investigation into catarrh in sheep (New South Wales, 1849).[172]

The reminiscences of A.A.C. Le Soüef (see Clark & Cahir, *in press*) reveal much biographical information about Christian S. Ogilvie. Le Soüef refers to Ogilvie as 'My dear friend, Chris Ogilvie, my fast friend of many long and happy years'. Ogilvie was best man at Le Soüef's wedding to Caroline Cotton on 11 August 1853. In the late 1840s Le Soüef reveals that his friend Ogilvie 'had also at the same time as myself been in Curlewis and Campbell's employment, though on another station. He now managed the 'Seven Creeks' station for Messrs. Phillip Holland and Chas. Barnes'.[173] In 1851 Ogilvie and Le Soüef went into partnership as 'Ogilvie & Le Soüef' and purchased all the cattle from William Forlonge who having recently acquired 'Seven Creeks' was converting the station into a sheep run. Their business plan was to sell the cattle off as they fattened. During their first summer in business they were joined on a muster at 'Barwidgee' by Ogilvie's younger brother, Charles William Ogilvie (b. 1822), a sailor, who had just brought out a brig named *Craigallechie* from London.[174] Later in 1854 Christian Ogilvie went to Sydney to find the best place to buy working bullocks and make preparations to drive them to Victoria. This explains his advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (29/12/1854) calling for a man to act as cook for a party going over to Port Phillip. A year later the firm of Ogilvie & Le Soüef was terminated as Ogilvie 'was anxious to enter into business in Melbourne, where he thought money

170 "England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975," index, FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/NYJX-28R: accessed 03 Nov 2014), Christian Splidt Ogilvie, 13 Sep 1820; citing, reference; FHL microfilm 254590, 254591, 254592.

171 These dates are taken from Penola cemetery records.

172 New South Wales (1849). Report from the Select Committee on Essays on Catarrh in Sheep.

173 George C. Curlewis and Robert T. Campbell were at 'Reedy Lake' or 'Bael Bael', 370,000 acres on lakes Reedy, Boga, and Bael Bael (1844–49). Barnes and Holland were at 'Seven Creeks', 70,000 acres south of Euroa (1843–51).

174 Charles Ogilvie later settled in Port Augusta, South Australia, where he worked as a ferryman (see *South Australian Register*, 28/3/1877).

was to be made more easily than in the bush'. In Melbourne, Ogilvie formed a carrying business with Peter Cheyne. Cheyne had squatting interests at Broken River with his brother Dr Alexander Cheyne (1840–47), and Frederick Bury at 'Moira Lower' (1857–62).

In May 1861, *The Age* (4/5/1861) reported that Christian Splidt Ogilvie of 131 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, had been appointed a commissioner to administer the Act entitled 'An Act to prevent the further spread of the disease in cattle called pleuro-pneumonia'. In August 1861 Ogilvie resigned his commissionership (*Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, 17/8/1861). The *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* (24/8/1861) noted that he was formerly a cattle inspector in Victoria. In 1863, Ogilvie 'in conjunction with Mr. Younghusband, of Melbourne, took up some blocks of country; starting from the shores of Lake Gardiner ... this place he called Kalindo. He abandoned the country in 1863' (*South Australian Register*, 19/5/1898). A correspondent to *The Register* (9/1/1924) noted that the 'Nonning lease was granted to Charles Ryan in 1864, and was subsequently held by Younghusband and McKenzie and Ogilvie, and adjoining this on the west in the Kolendo lease, which was originally granted to Younghusband, McKenzie, and Ogilvie and Christian Ogilvie was the manager'. The *South Australian Advertiser* (28/4/1865) reported that Christian Ogilvie of Kanadla, near Port Augusta, was appointed Justice of the Peace for South Australia. In December 1866 the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (22/12/1866) published a public notice 'that the partnership between Isaac Younghusband and Christian Splidt Ogilvie, carrying on business as stockholders and sheep farmers at Kolendo, Gawler Ranges, under the style or firm of Ogilvie & Co., has this day been dissolved by mutual consent'.

The London Gazette, 10 December 1872, included Ogilvie's invention of 'improvements in apparatus for steering ships' in a list of Patents which had become void.[175] On 29 November 1872 Lindsay Ogilvie, a younger brother, re-petitioned the Patents Office on his brother's behalf.[176] In March 1873, Christian Ogilvie visited the patents office in London (*McIvor Times & Rodney Advertiser*, 13/3/1873). *The Australasian* (4/9/1875) announced to its readers a new discovery by Christian Ogilvie – the Cospatrick boat launch – a new method of lowering boats at sea.

On 25 August 1875, Ogilvie was appointed for two months to inspect the Aboriginal stations under the control of the Board. On 7 September 1875 he was appointed, temporarily, to replace Stahle and take charge of Coranderrk. On 14 October 1875 he was promoted to the post of General Superintendent of Aboriginal Stations. Ogilvie kept a brief record of his time at Coranderrk spanning from 1875 until 1877 – consisting of one 'Australian Exercise Book'. It has been published by the Australian Archives Victoria Branch (1993) in their publication *My Heart is Breaking*. McIver (1994: 70), in

175 *https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/24274/page/6368/data.pdf*
176 https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/23933/page/6522/data.pdf

reviewing of the publication has summarised Ogilvie's diary as 'a strange mixture of disapproval, cultural arrogance and dutiful attention to the health of the residents, which others in charge appear to have neglected consistently.' On 26 December 1875 he wrote 'This place is sadly in want of a manager, firm and just in conduct, to reduce it to something like order. Such a man would have to be invested with authority over both whites and Aboriginals. ... I think therefore that a person should be appointed at once to take entire charge of the station – probably a retired Sergeant of Police would be most eligible'.[177]

According to Christie (1979: 191), Ogilvie was 'formerly a manager of a sheep station near Omeo', however as this biographical research has revealed (see below), his association with the Omeo district took place after he ceased employment with the Board. At the 1877 Royal Commission Ogilvie claimed experience of 'managing the blacks' since about 1841, apparently, according to Barwick (1998), with the Kurnai of Gippsland, yet as shown above this too is not supported, and had the education and inclination, if not the wealth, to consider himself 'a gentleman'. Barwick's (1998: 115) assessment is that Ogilvie

> ... claimed a lifetime's experience of 'managing the black's, he was 'blinkered by his views about discipline, temperance, the genetic superiority of 'half castes' and the causation of tuberculosis; but he was a fair man. In his first report on 20 September 1875 he stated that the site was unsuitable for Aborigines because it was too cold and wet and too near the town although he found no evidence of drunkenness or prostitution. He warned that 'by far the larger proportion of the Aborigines at Coranderrk would prefer remaining there, partly because it is their country, or near it'. He upheld the residents' attachment to this location in private reports to the Board, and publicly, and thus helped to defeat the abandonment scheme proposed by Godfrey, Curr and Le Soüef.

Life after Coranderrk

On 28 February 1876 Ogilvie tendered his resignation on the principle that his authority was undermined when the Board responded to Aboriginal deputations by giving 'the people to understand that Coranderrk was all but their own property'. He asked to withdraw his resignation the following day and the Board acceded to his request. Ogilvie resigned his position of Inspector of Aboriginal Stations on 4 April 1877. At the Coranderrk Inquiry he explained he had resigned 'for a better billet'.

According to Nanni and James (2013: 51) after his resignation Ogilvie 'moved up country and managed cattle and horses', not taking any note of subsequent events until he was summoned to appear before the Coranderrk Inquiry, though how they can prove his lack of interest is unclear. The *Gippsland Times* (28/5/1877) confirmed that 'Mr Christian Ogilvie, who has for some time past occupied the post of Inspector of Aboriginal Stations, has resigned his position with the view of engaging in squat-

177 Hugh Hamilton Halliday, formerly a sergeant of police, was appointed Coranderrk manager on 15 February 1876 six weeks after Ogilvie made this recommendation in his diary.

ting pursuits in the Omeo district, Gippsland'. *The Argus* (15/1/1878) reveals that in January 1878 he was manager of Tongio-Mungie station, near Omeo, for the squatting firm of Messrs Wilson and Dougharty.[178] In October 1878 Ogilvie published a letter from Omeo in *The Australasian* (12/10/1878) in which he proposed measures by which station holders could remove kangaroos without harming domesticated stock. In February 1881 Ogilvie announced that his engagement as manager of Messrs Wilson and Dougharty's Omeo station had terminated and that he was open to re-engagement (*The Australasian*, 12/2/1881).

In December 1881, Ogilvie was a witness before the Coranderrk Inquiry. *The Argus* summarised his evidence as follows:

> C. Ogilvie deposed that he was secretary to the Central Board some six years ago. Visited Coranderrk station a fortnight since. The blacks looked well fed and clad and better housed than before. As long as there were people who listened to their complaints the blacks would complain. Irresponsible people encouraged them to complain. Used to think the chairman one of such people. Mr. Macpherson, once Chief Secretary, was one of them also. The blacks ought to have the right of petition, but petitions should go through the manager's hands to the board. Thought the half-castes should be encouraged to go out into the world. They had not such a claim on us as the pure blacks. The real blacks were not so intelligent as the half-castes. The half-castes girls might be allowed to go out into service, if the employers were judiciously chosen. Keeping half-castes at the station was perpetuating a race of paupers. The station might be regarded as their home. Coranderrk was one of the worst managed of all the aboriginal stations. Did not consider the blacks immoral. Coranderrk was too close to Melbourne to be a good place for a station. Should recommend that Coranderrk station be broken up. The inhabitants had, however, become so disobedient that they might demoralise the blacks at other stations. The blacks at Coranderrk occupied a better position than white labourers. Did not find the blacks particularly docile. They were about as truthful as white people generally (*The Argus*, 2/12/1881).

During his time as manager at Tambo he is noted for a famous debate on theology with Anglican Bishop James Moorhouse. The *Brisbane Courier* (12/9/1903) published the following account of the encounter:

> Here is one [story], illustrative of his [Moorhouses's] masterly dealing with individual doubters:- On one of his visits to the Alpine regions, in the north-east of Victoria, he accepted an invitation to lunch at a station on the Tambo River, the manager of which, the late Christian Ogilvie, although a good Christian in practice, imagined himself a Deist in belief. In argument Mr. Ogilvie had proved himself invincible to all the country side. The Bishop's visit furnished an opportunity to try conclusions with a foe worthy of his steel. He began quietly:-
>
> "My complaint against Christians, my Lord, is this – they lack reverence. They intrude into the Holy of Holies, and imagine they can comprehend the Incomprehensible. In the presence of the Deity I veil my eyes, and confess that I do not know; but the Christian presumes to know and

178 Billis and Kenyon (1974: 290) confirm that Wilson, Dougharty & Co. were licensees of Tongio-Mungie, 36,500 acres on the Tambo River, above Ensay, from December 1877 until October 1880.

> to discuss the very attributes of God. Now, my Lord," he continued, "there is a fly on my knee. Suppose for a moment it is discussing my nature and my attributes, what should I say of such a fly?" "You would surely say that it is a very intelligent fly, Mr. Ogilvie." There was a pause, and the kindly Deist brushed the fly away with the remark, "You have got me there, Bishop". And Deism was discussed no more that day.

In May 1882, the *Border Watch* (13/5/1882) announced to its readers that Mr W.H. MacWilliam, the Victorian Stock Inspector, stationed at Penola, had been promoted to Gippsland. He is to be 'succeeded by Mr Ogilvie, a Victorian gentleman'. *The Argus* (24/6/1882) announced that Christian Splidt Ogilvie, Inspector of Stock at Penola, was also to be Officer of Customs at Penola, to date from 9 May 1882. Christian S. Ogilvie died on 19 September 1883 and was buried in the Penola Cemetery two days later.[179] The *South Australian Register* (1/10/1883) in a death notice reported that he was 'formerly of the Gawler Ranges and Adelaide'. The *Border Watch* (26/9/1883) published a funeral notice, and the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (6/10/1883) published an obituary. The *Bairnsdale Advertiser and Tambo and Omeo Chronicle* (11/10/1883) also announced his death.

Nina Robertson, matron, & Thomas Harris, overseer (temporary managers) November 1875 – December 1875

As yet, nothing is known of Nina Robertson in terms of her immediate family and what became of her after she ended her association with Coranderrk and Framlingham in 1884. Nina Robertson was first appointed dormitory matron/schoolmistress at Coranderrk in January 1874 during John Green's tenure (Barwick, 1998: 99). She was dismissed by Christian Ogilvie on 29 July 1876, to put a stop to her constant complaining about newly-appointed manager Hugh Halliday, and after being interviewed by the Board on 31 July, she was forbidden to return to Coranderrk. She received wages until 20 October 1876 (Victoria, 1877: 69). On 7 June 1877 she appeared before the Royal Commission into matters at Coranderrk.

Life after Coranderrk

From Coranderrk she went to Framlingham Aboriginal station where she served as teacher and governess. In July 1879, William Goodall, reporting on Framlingham, noted that a recent visitor Mr. W. Linklater had written: 'Was delighted to find many of the blacks professing Christianity, also the neat clean houses provided for them. The situation of the station, in my opinion, could not be surpassed. The kindness shown by the manager particularly took my attention. Was also greatly delighted with the school; the care and patience and perseverance of the governess, Miss Robertson, in teaching, is deserving of praise'. Goodall added 'I fully endorse all that has been

179 These dates are taken from Penola cemetery records.

said by Mr. Linklater with reference to Miss Robertson, for the progress made by the children excels any of my school experiences' (Victoria, 1879: 6). Goodall had begun his career as a teacher, so this is high praise indeed! Julian Thomas 'The Vagabond' was another visitor to Framlingham who was impressed with Nina Robertson: 'Bar its lovely situation on the banks of the Hopkins, the only interest at Framlingham is found in the school. Miss Robertson, the teacher, has her charges well in hand, and they are neat and orderly' (*The Argus*, 3/1/1885). Robertson resigned her schoolmistress position in late 1884 (*The Age*, 6/12/1884). The Board accepted her resignation with regret.

Thomas Harris, overseer, and Nina Robertson, matron (temporary managers) November 1875 – December 1875

Thomas Harris (b. 1829 (baptised 15/2/1829), Hinton Blewett, Somerset – d. 1904, Healesville). Thomas Harris was twice-married – he married two Daungwurrung women who were residents at Coranderrk:

In 1870 he married Lily 'Jerkunning' Hamilton (b. 1853? – d. 29/3/1876, Coranderrk, Reg. # 3224 – see *The Argus*, 29/8/1876)[180] a Daungwurrung woman and in so doing became brother-in-law to two of the leading men – Tommy Bamfield and Willie Hamilton. According to Barwick (1998: 80) 'No other staff member was equally esteemed'.

Peter M'Lusky, who claimed Coranderrk and Healesville was once part of his pastoral lease, recalled Lily, although he calls her 'Corrie':

> Some of the half-castes were also good looking, especially one young girl named Corrie, she was housemaid for Mrs. Green, and a very good housemaid she was too.[181] She was also a good scholar, and had written several letters to Queen Victoria, and she also received nice replies to her letters from the Queen. Corrie got married to the agricultural manager, Mr. Harris, an Englishman. She is now dead, and Mr. Harris, I have heard, is married to another half-caste (*Bacchus Marsh Express*, 26/1/1895).

After Lily's death in 1876 Thomas Harris married Alice Zipporah (Sippy) Grant,[182] (b. ca. 1861, Yea – d. 8/8/1921, Badger Creek, Healesville – *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 13/8/1921), on 12 March 1882 (Reg. 1263), a Daungwurrung woman from the Yea district. The wedding was conducted by Rev. Strickland, the superintendent of Coranderrk at the time. Engaged by November 1881, Rev. Alexander Mackie refused

180 Lily Harris died in childbirth (Barwick, 1998: 135) – there was an investigation into the circumstances of her death – in particular as to whether or not Halliday and Ogilvie had ensured medical attention was available.

181 Lily 'Jerkunning' Hamilton married Thomas Harris in 1870; she died in March 1876.

182 Barwick (1998: 194) records 'Alice Sapora Grant'. John Green's third child was also named Zipporah (Zippy) (b. 1861).

to marry Grant and Harris because Alice was under the legal marrying age of 21. As she was considered an orphan and wasn't able to produce consent from her parents, Harris was asked to provide written permission from a local magistrate (Nanni & James, 2013: 83). At Coranderrk, Alice Grant had worked as assistant teacher and washerwoman.

Immediate Family

Thomas Harris and Lily Hamilton had four children together between 1872 and 1876:

- Hannah Sarah Harris (b. 1872, Reg. # 9455 – d. 1952, Hawthorn, aged 80 – Reg. # 9588) who married John (Jack) Lindupp (b. 1865, Amherst, Talbot – Reg. # 12633 – d. after 1912) in 1898 – Reg. # 817. The Lindupp family came to Healesville in 1864 (*Healesville & Yarra Glen Guardian*, 27/12/1924);
- Lillian (Lillie) Harris (b. 1874, Healesville, Reg. # 2884 – d. 1963) married Charles Archibald Borne (b. 1870 – d. 1947, Parkville) in 1903 in Malvern (Reg. # 11882);
- William Harris (b. 1875, Healesville, Reg. # 2934 – d. 1875, Healesville, aged 2 months, Reg. # 7123);
- Mary Ann (Marion) Harris (b. 29/3/1876, Coranderrk, Reg. # 9926 – see *The Argus*, 29/8/1876 – d. 1952, aged 77 – Reg. # 6532); married Abraham (Abe) Quarman of Panton Hill (1869–1953, Greensborough – Reg. # 20897) in 1902 (Reg. # 7984)

Thomas Harris and Alice Grant had eight children between 1883 and 1900:

- Thomas Harris (b. 1883, Healesville – d. May 1885, Healesville, aged 2 (Reg. # 5386, from serious burns after falling into a vessel of boiling water –see *The Argus*, 16/5/1885)[183].
- William Archable (Archibald) Harris (b. 1884, Healesville, Reg. # 17452 – d. 1967 Healesville, aged 83, Reg. # 18185);[184]
- James Anderson Gordon (Jim) Harris (b. 1886, Reg. # 26754 – d. 4/7/1918, France);
- Rosalind Alice Zipporah Perss[185] Harris (b. 1890 – d. 25/5/1949 – *Healesville Guardian*, 28/5/1949); married Robert George (Bob) Jenkins (Jenkinson) (b. 1889 – d. 1/12/1918, 3rd Australian General Hospital, France) (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 21/12/1918);
- Esperance Edda Margaret Harris (b. 1893, Healesville, Reg. # 23267 – d. 1893, Healesville);
- Bernice Widcombe[186] Lyell Harris (b. 1894 – d. 3/9/1951, Healesville);
- Irene Beryl Natalie Harris (b. 1898 – d. 16/8/1958, Healesville, aged 59, Reg. # 22735);
- Myra Harris (b. 1900, Healesville – d. 1992).

183 The article in *The Argus* claimed the boy's age was three.

184 See http://www.australiancemeteries.com/vic/yarra_ranges/healesvillegn_data.htm

185 Presumably named after the matron Miss Persse who was employed at Coranderrk from 1883–1886.

186 Thomas Harris's family lived at North Widcombe, Hinton Blewett, Somersetshire.

Life before Coranderrk

According to Barwick (1998), Harris, 'a scarcely literate labourer', began to work as John Green's private servant from 1862. In 1865 he purchased land near Coranderrk as part of the 1865 town sales.[187] Harris was formally hired by the Aboriginal Board in January 1866 to serve as farm overseer at Coranderrk at £50 per annum. Harris was called 'Tom' and the Aboriginal men at Coranderrk regarded him as 'quite one of themselves' (Barwick, 1998: 80).

Life after Coranderrk

Alice Grant was one of the Aboriginal women of Coranderrk who spoke at the 1881 Coranderrk Inquiry. Nanni and James (2013: 79) have published the following profile:

> Alice Zipporah Grant (1861–1921), also known by her nickname 'Zippy', came to Coranderrk as a young child shortly after the station was established and was raised in the dormitory with other girls her age. By the time of the Inquiry, she was 20 years old and had recently become engaged to Coranderrk's white farm manager, Thomas Harris. The pair married shortly after the Inquiry, went on to have eight children, and, after Harris resigned as farm manager in 1883, moved onto a plot of land bordering the Coranderrk reserve, next door to John and Mary Green.

Harris served as farm manager until he resigned in 1883. After his resignation, he retired to Healesville where he continued growing hops. In 1894 in a review of hop gardens in the Healesville district, Thomas Harris's garden received high praise (*The Australasian*, 17/3/1894). Harris died in 1904 and was buried in the Coranderrk cemetery – a demonstration of the esteem with which he was regarded by the Coranderrk Aboriginal community. The *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (13/8/1921) announced the death of Zipporah Harris in August 1921.

Hugh Hamilton Halliday: March 1876 – September 1878

Background

Hugh Hamilton Halliday (b. 1834, county Antrim, Ireland – d. 1886, Richmond, aged 52 see Reg. 07149). His parents were Hugh Halliday and Annie Hamilton.

Halliday was twice-married. He first married Elizabeth Jane Long (b. 1828? – d. 21/9/1864, aged 36, Palmerston, after a short but severe illness, *Gippsland Guardian*, 23/9/1864) in 1857 – Reg. # 3207. He married Sarah Pulham (b. 1843, London – d. after 1886)[188] in 1869 (see Reg. # 4224). The registration misspells the surname 'Halladay'. Sarah Pulham arrived in Victoria with her parents William Pulham and Eliza Jolly and

187 See footnote 24.

188 http://mepnab.netau.net/p/pulham.html. A Sarah Halliday (parents unknown) died in 1900 in Kew (Reg. # 9521), aged 52. The age does not tally, but given that they did not know her parents, the informant may have been guessing her age.

three siblings in 1852 per 'Helen' as assisted immigrants. The family first settled at Hexham and then moved to Wangoom.

Immediate Family

Hugh Hamilton Halliday and Elizabeth Jane Long had at least three children between 1858 and 1862:

- Edmund (Edward)[189] Hamilton Halliday (b. 1858, Carisbrook, Reg. # 3615 – d. 3/2/1897, Stawell, aged 39 – *The Argus*, 8/2/1897) married Elizabeth Jane Horseley (b.? –d. 19/7/1946, late of Poowong, at her daughter's residence, 28 Queen's Ave, Carnegie – *The Argus*, 20/7/1946) in 1885 – see Reg. # 162;
- Emily Ann Halliday (b. 1861, Carisbrook, Reg. # 7007 – d. 1932, East Melbourne, aged 71)
- Unnamed female Halliday (b. 1862, Carisbrook – d?).[190]

Life before Coranderrk

Before becoming manager of Coranderrk, Halliday was a sergeant in the police force (No. 560). At a farewell given in honour at his resignation from the Police Force in 1876 (see below) it was revealed that he had been in the police force for 22 years, meaning he would have joined in 1854, as a 20 year old. In 1858 he was serving as a police constable in the Carisbrook district (*The Argus*, 10/5/1858); by 1859 he had been promoted to sergeant (*The Argus*, 24/1/1859); in 1861, he was promoted to inspector of slaughter houses in the Carisbrook Police District (*The Star*, 15/8/1861); in 1863 he was stationed at Palmerston, in Gippsland (*Gippsland Guardian*, 7/8/1863); in 1866 he was in Ararat where the following year he was temporarily appointed keeper of the powder magazine (*The Argus*, 18/9/1867); his next promotion was to Chief Clerk in the Richmond Depot, a position he remained in until he retired from the Police Force to take up the position at Coranderrk. *The Argus* reported on the farewell presentation made to him by his colleagues at the Richmond Depot:

> THE NEW SUPERINTENDENT OF CORANDERRK.
> A meeting of members of the police force was held at the Richmond Depot Library yesterday, for the purpose of presenting testimonials to Mr. Halliday, who was until lately a sergeant in the force, but has recently been appointed superintendent of the aboriginal station at Coranderrk. About 35 members of the force were present. The subjoined address, which was illuminated and bound in a very handsome morocco case, was presented to him, and accompanied by a purse of 60 sovereigns:
>
> "To Mr. Hugh H. Halliday, late Sergeant of the Victorian Police.-Dear Sir,-We, the members of the Victorian Police Force, cannot permit you to leave the Service without conveying to you our high appreciation of you as an officer and a man, and from your long service in the force, extending

189 Edward in birth registration; but Edmund subsequently.
190 http://www.ancientfaces.com/person/halliday/134786692 – unverified.

> over 22 years in various districts of the colony, we can one and all bear testimony to the courtesy and unvarying kindness displayed by you towards the members of the force in the various positions you have occupied, and more recently as chief clerk in the depot office. We, therefore, beg you to accept the accompanying purse of sovereigns as a slight token of the esteem in which you are held, and while regretting your loss to the service we also congratulate you on your appointment as superintendent of the aboriginal station at Coranderrk, and assure you that you have the best wishes for your future prosperity of those with whom you have been so long associated. We remain, dear sir, on behalf of the subscribers, yours faithfully (signed), P. BARRY, T. PARKINSON, R. HAMILTON" (*The Argus*, 13/5/1876).

At the 1877 inquiry, Ogilvie (Victoria, 1877: 7) revealed that Halliday brought with him two highly recommendatory letters – from Captain Standish and Mr. Hall. Frederick Charles Standish was Victoria's Chief Commissioner of Police. The identity of Mr. Hall is yet to be determined. A report in *The Argus* reveals more about his appointment:

> One of the most potential of educational agents is example, and this is true in a very special manner in regard to the up-bringing of children who have savage blood in their veins. Young people of this description are intensely imitative, and it is essential to their well-doing that they should have constantly before their eyes models worthy of imitation. In this respect the Coranderrk children and youths are particularly fortunate. Mr. Halliday, the superintendent of the station, was specially selected by the board for his fitness for the situation. When the board required a man for the place, they requested the chief commissioner of police to select a suitable man from the superior non-commissioned ranks of the force, and he named Mr. Halliday, then filling the responsible post of senior sergeant at the Richmond depot. He accepted the office of superintendent, and brought to the discharge of his new duties long official experience and that capacity for governing which only the wise practice of authority can confer. By nature, too, he is well fitted for the place he now fills, being no less kind and gentle than he can be firm and determined when occasion arises for the exhibition of such qualities. Without being improperly personal, I may add that the ladies of the superintendent's family are well calculated to exercise a refining influence over the native women, young and old. The dress and manners of the young ladies are eagerly copied and imitated by the station girls (*The Argus*, 1/9/1876)

Barwick (1998: 122) notes that Halliday, 'the old police sergeant recommended as "a good disciplinarian",[191] was Ogilvie's nomination for the position of superintendent'. Ogilvie had earlier formed the view that the skills of a policeman were required in a superintendent (see above). 'Ogilvie was encouraged to bring him before the Board for interview despite objections from Board member James MacBain that 'Halliday had no knowledge of farming, stock or Aborigines and was "the last person who should be appointed"' (Barwick, 1998: 122). Halliday was offered the appointment on 21 February 1876 and offered a wage of £150 per annum plus rations for himself and his family. Halliday informed the Board on 25 February 1876 that he accepted the position. On 4 November 1876, the Board resolved that Miss Halliday would be paid £20 per annum to look after the children and girls in the dormitory, and that this was to be

191 Barwick's characterisation of Halliday as 'old' is curious; he was only 42 when he was appointed.

increased to £52 per annum after three months. Halliday's appointment drew James MacBain's resignation from the Board on the grounds of the unfitness of Halliday and the behaviour of the new Board members Godfrey, Le Soüef, and Curr. Halliday arrived at Coranderrk on 28 March 1876.

In September 1876, a 'special reporter' of *The Argus* discussed the Halliday family:

> The present management at Coranderrk is patriarchal in the best sense of the word. Mr. Halliday and the lady members of his family are not the despots or task masters of the blacks, but their kindly guides, philosophers, and friends. The grown men and women on the station are continually coming to the superintendent's house on one errand or another, and these chiefly of a most frivolous kind. The children swarm over the private garden, and cannot be kept out of the kitchen. When Mrs. Halliday and her step-daughters go out for a walk, the station girls follow them, and will not be denied the privilege. The girls are eager to be taught sewing, knitting, crochet, and other feminine occupations of like character, and Mrs. Halliday spends some part of every day in teaching them, which is a pleasant enough way of occupying her time, since the girls are apt to learn. A defect in the present arrangements is that Mrs. Halliday has no official position in the establishment, and no power beyond what her personal influence confers. If she were the properly-appointed and recognised matron of the establishment, her usefulness would be greatly increased, to the benefit of all concerned (*The Argus*, 1/9/1876).

In 1876, Halliday was supposed to have contributed to a brawl between Coranderrk residents by saying 'Let them fight it out', and was accused of tardiness in assisting Aboriginal invalids. These and other residents' complaints led to his resignation (Australian Archives, 1993: 149). Halliday was examined by the Royal Commission of 1877. He was dismissed by the Board on 14 August 1878, and was replaced by the Rev. F. Philip Strickland in September 1878.

Life after Coranderrk

According to Barwick (1998: 165) the Halliday family moved into Healesville once Rev. Strickland took charge in September 1878, and Halliday and his son Edmund 'for the next two years were more of a nuisance to the Board than Green had ever been'.

> The Board punished Halliday's defiance in removing a girl servant [Maggie Stone], with a summons. He was fined for employing an Aboriginal without a work certificate. They withheld a promised gratuity and reference because of his complaints about his unjust dismissal and demands for reinstatement. They could not silence his complaints that Strickland was drunk on duty and maltreated the dormitory children, for the old policeman knew enough of the law to get sworn affidavits and enlist witnesses.

According to Woiwod (2012: 92) Halliday may have taken up a position with the Melbourne Model School. Over the next three years Strickland had three letters about his time at Coranderrk published in Melbourne newspapers:

> When I took over charge of Coranderrk in March, 1876, the whole station had been for months in a state of uproar and confusion its buildings in ruins, and falling in on the natives, its fences

rotten, and many of its inhabitants in rags and ailing from pulmonary complaints. As to the state in which I left it I beg to refer to the published report on the state of the station dated July, 1878. During the two years and a half I held office, with the aid of the natives alone I built seven new huts, floored seven or eight more, put up a stable, stockyard, and milking sheds, and erected about five miles of fencing besides having five new huts put up by contract – all this independent of the regular work of the station and hop paddock, the latter being a complete success during my tenure of office, and netting some hundreds of pounds annually after paying all expenses. So much for my management. With regard to that of others, I have no remarks to make at present. But I may state that so long as members of Parliament allow blacks to interview them in Melbourne with senseless complaints, and step between the board and them by introducing their deputations to those in authority – that so long as the Coranderrk blacks are encouraged by having private inquiry agents who speak their language sent up to meet them by roadsides and hear what reports they have to make, so long will it be impossible for even an angel from heaven to manage Coranderrk and preserve discipline. In conclusion I fully concur with the opinion of the board (whose only fault I ever could see was that, instead of dismissing disorderly blacks from off their Stations it petted and pampered them, and endowed their managers with too little authority) that the best and only remedy for Coranderrk is to break it up and distribute its natives amongst the other stations, and I would also remind Mr Dow that if an ex-policeman, as he terms me in his report, I have the advantage and qualification of being at least a gentleman- I am, &c. HUGH H. HALLIDAY. Healesville. Oct. 29 (*The Argus*, 1/11/1879).

In his second letter, Halliday asserts that the Coranderrk residents took great pride in showing Coranderrk to Aboriginal people from other parts of Victoria – they were especially keen to show off their hop gardens.

THE CORANDERRK INQUIRY. TO THE EDITOR OF *THE ARGUS*.
Sir-In last Friday's issue of *The Argus*, Mr John Morrison, of Healesville one of the witnesses before the Coranderrk Commission is reported to have stated that during the previous management of the said station the blacks roamed about Healesville for food, and the women misconducted themselves. Now as I was one of the "previous managers," I cannot allow such a gross misrepresentation to pass unchallenged as far as I am concerned. The natives received during the tenure of office exactly the same amount of food and clothing that they do at present. They were never stinted in anything; they had but to ask to receive. Money I advanced them out of my own pocket when they required it. Begging was a thing unknown at Coranderrk; indeed, I believe the Coranderrk blacks would starve before they would beg. Necessity for begging there was none, as the board kindly granted all supplies asked for. I considered the natives very much better off than many whites I knew in Melbourne. When I first took over charge I found the ration of flour to be only 7 lb per week for each male adult, as I considered this not sufficient for a working man, especially as I found no potatoes on the station, I recommended that it should be increased to 10 lb, which was approved of by the board. During the 30 months I was in charge of Coranderrk I never heard of a case of misconduct on the part of any of the women, and I am certain none could have occurred without my hearing something of it. None of the women ever left the station alone, they were either accompanied by their husbands or by other women, so they bad no opportunity for any misconduct even if they were so inclined. The blacks themselves observed this rule with great strictness, and reported to me at once any non-observance of it they witnessed. I could have wished the unfortunate natives better luck, as with proper treatment they are not so had as some try hard to make people believe. I never know a black to dispute an order I gave him, nor one who refused to go on the instant and execute it. Should the half castes be sent adrift, the families of the white officials will outnumber the blacks that will be left, but

> how the former are to be deprived of their legal rights, granted by act of Parliament, I am at a loss to imagine. Some of the evidence before the commission has surprised me. In my time, instead of the natives leaving the station during hop picking, if they were in the far end of the colony they would make it a point to be back in time for it, and would bring any of their black friends they could induce to accompany them as they took a pride in showing natives from other places their station and their crop of hops. Hop picking was to the blacks at Coranderrk much the same as Christmas is to the whites, a period of reunion and rejoicing, of peace and merry making. One of the great objections they have to leaving Coranderrk is that there lie the bones of their relatives and friends, and they fear to die on any of the mission stations in consequence of the mode of burial they believe to be practised at some of them, viz, a hole dug, the body sewn up in a piece of blanket or calico and lowered into it on the top of a piece of bark, another piece of bark laid on the body, on which is shovelled the earth. It is a mistake to consider the aborigines of the present day in the same light as they were viewed 30 years ago. The natives of that time are extinct, and new men, reared up amongst a white population, possessing the manners and customs of whites, supply their place. Fresh legislation for them is necessary, and the present act, by which they are made slaves of and annulled, is, however necessary it may have been at one time in the colony's history, at the present day a disgrace on the Statute book of Victoria. I never thought there were slaves in Victoria until I had ocular proof of it in the case of the unfortunate quadroon girl referred to by Mr Morrison in his evidence. And yet there are people who wonder why the blacks are not contented and happy. I am, &c.
> Hugh H. HALLIDAY. Dec. 1. (*The Argus*, 5/12/1881)

Halliday's third letter was entitled 'The Coranderrk Blacks and their treatment'. In the letter Halliday acquitted himself of any negligence in the care of an Aboriginal resident Eliza Bamfield, the wife of Thomas Bamfield, and blamed the Rev. Alexander Mackie of lying in his accusations against Halliday (*The Argus*, 17/5/1882).

In 1879, Hugh H. Halliday applied to be reinstated in the Victoria Police force;[192] and re-joined the force, stationed in Melbourne (Barwick 1998: 205). In 1880 he was appointed Inspector for the prevention of imposition in connection with public charities (*South Australia Chronicle & Weekly Mail*, 8/5/1880). One regional newspaper wrote approvingly of the appointment: 'Mr. Halliday was chosen from 95 applicants. He was at one time sergeant of police, and was formerly superintendent of the aboriginal station near Healesville. His experience has therefore been of a kind calculated to qualify him for the efficient discharge of the duties connected with the post (*Kerang Times and Swan Hill Gazette*, 7/5/1880).

In May 1882 Halliday was living in Clifton Hill, Melbourne (*The Argus*, 17/5/1882). After Strickland's resignation in June 1882 Halliday 'declared himself an applicant' for the vacant post (Barwick, 1998: 242). In 1883 Halliday was appointed Inspector of weights and measures in the Sandridge City Council (*The Argus*, 21/8/1875). In January 1885 his title as Inspector of Weights & Measures & Dogs &c. was changed to Registration Officer under the Dog Act 1884 for the Borough Council of Port Melbourne (*Record*, 17/1/1885). Halliday applied again for the Coranderrk position in late 1885,

192 http://helendoxfordharris.com.au/archives/tag/victoria-police

but the Board resolved to appoint Goodall at Framlingham and Joseph Shaw at Coranderrk (Barwick, 1998: 293). Halliday died the following year, aged 52.

Rev. Frederick Philip Strickland: September 1878 – June 1882

Background

Rev. Frederick Philip Strickland (b. 1819?, Kidderminster, Worcestershire – d. 20/12/1901, at Merton, Armadale, aged 82 – *The Argus*, 28/12/1901); married Sarah Ann Moseley (b. 1824? – d. 15/2/ 1914, at her residence, Rathgar House, 59 Princess St, Kew, in her 90th year (*The Argus*, 16/2/1914) in 1847 in London. In Victoria he was usually known as Rev. F. Philip Strickland.

Immediate Family

Rev. Frederick Philip Strickland and Sarah Ann Moseley had nine children together between 1850 and 1867: two sons and seven daughters:

- Sarah Ann Strickland (b. 1850, England – d. 22/6/1873, aged 23, White Hills, Sandhurst – *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24/6/1873), married Behan Richard Heron M'Cullagh (b. 1833? – d. 27/4/1888, Geelong, aged 55 – *The Argus*, 30/4/1888) of Sandhurst, on 6/9/1871 (*Geelong Advertiser*, 8/9/1871). M'Cullagh married a second time: Annie Louise Sharpe, in 1881.
- Frederick Phillip Strickland (b. ca. 1854, England – d. after 1936?) married Anne Alexander Barry (b. 1854? – d. 31/5/1926, South Perth, aged 72, *Western Mail*, 10/6/1926)[193] on 4/11/1874 at Brunswick (*The Argus*, 7/11/1874).
- Samuel John Strickland (b. 1855? – d. 14/5/1886, aged 31, Geelong – *Geelong Advertiser*, 15/5/1886; *The Argus*, 18/5/1886 – Reg. # 5331), married Jane Brown (b. 1853?, Prahran – d. 25/8/1895 at 156 Chapel Street, Prahran, aged 42 – *The Australasian*, 31/8/1895) in 1878 – Reg. # 4682.
- Ellen Somes[194] (Nellie) Strickland (b. 7/2/1857, Allen's Creek, Kapunda, South Australia – *South Australian Register* 11/2/1857 – d. 16/9/1926, Chelsea, aged 69 – *The Argus*, 20/9/1926); married Samuel Trim King (b. 1861- d. 1951, aged 90) of Bendigo on 17/12/1891 (*The Australasian*, 2/1/1892).
- Annie Whitcomb[195] Strickland (b. 25/10/1858, Allen's Creek, Kapunda – *South Australian Advertiser*, 10/11/1858 – d. 7/5/1939, Melbourne); married Alexander Scott Blair (b. 18/5/1852, Glasgow – d. 22/6/1923, Adelaide, S.A.),[196] of Adelaide, on 2/4/1901 (*The Australasian*, 11/1/1901) (it was his second marriage).

193 Privately interred at Karrakatta.

194 Some sources spell record Soames. The death notice gave 'Somes'.

195 Some sources record Whitcombe.

196 See http://www.users.on.net/~rdblair/taylor.htm

- Grace Strickland (b. 15/1/1861, Allen's Creek, Kapunda – *South Australian Register*, 16/1/1861 – d. 1866, aged 5, Reg. # 1454).
- Alice Strickland (b. 8/7/1862, Newtown, Geelong, Reg. # 14639 – *Geelong Advertiser*, 15/7/1864 – d. 16/7/1935 – *The Argus*, 18/7/1935) married Jabez Gadsden (b. 29/11/1858, Blisworth, Northamptonshire – d. 12/12/1936) of 'Ferndale', Fernhurst Grove, Kew, on 6/8/1902 – *The Argus*, 23/8/1902.
- Florence Strickland (b.13/7/1864, Geelong, Reg. # 15298 – *Geelong Advertiser*, 25/7/1862 – d. 1953, Macleod, aged 89 – Reg. # 4448);[197]
- Minnie Isobel (Isabel) Clifford Strickland (b. 23/4/1867, Geelong, Reg. # 8346 – *Geelong Advertiser*, 29/4/1867 – d. 29/5/1947, at her residence 39 Disraeli St., Kew, aged 80, Reg. # 5328 – *The Argus*, 30/5/1947).[198]
- They also had an adopted Aboriginal son: David Strickland – 'adopted Aboriginal boy' (*Geelong Advertiser*, 1/8/1871; 15/2/1872).

Life before Coranderrk

The earliest reference to Strickland's arrival in Australia is an emigration notice dating from 17 September 1855. Sailing on *The Nimroud* from Southampton on 16 September for Adelaide was the Rev. Mr. Strickland and his wife and family. It announced that Strickland had agreed to fulfil the necessary duty of religious instructor during the voyage (*The Courier*, 17/12/1855). Once in Adelaide, Strickland busied himself with clerical duties – he made a pastoral visit to the valleys of the Gilbert and Light and was admitted to the Deaconate and duly licensed to be responsible for growing the church in this district (*South Australian Register*, 30/4/1856). In the 1856 Strickland began ministering at Kapunda. In late 1859, after three years at Kapunda, Strickland moved to a new parsonage at neighbouring Riverton (*South Australian Advertiser*, 15/101859). In April 1860 Strickland gave notice of his intention to end his five-year ministry at Riverton. He preached his final sermon at Riverton on 13 January 1861 (*Adelaide Observer*, 19/1/1861).

Strickland arrived in Geelong, on 24 January 1861 to confirm arrangements for his new ministry (*The Argus*, 26/1/1861). He returned to Kapunda to collect his family and in March 1861 he returned to Geelong with his wife and six children (*The Argus*, 16/3/1861). At Geelong, Strickland became the pastor of the Trinity Free Church. In February 1863 he resigned his ministry (*Geelong Advertiser*, 16/7/1863) as he wished to return to the United Church of England and Ireland and offered to continue serving until late June. Evidently his differences were resolved for he continued in service until early 1875 when he left with the intention of joining the Baptist denomination. In Geelong from the mid-1860s Mrs Strickland ran a school from the Trinity Church parsonage in 113 Skene Street, Newtown, from which she taught her daughters and

197 Operated Miss Strickland's Ladies College, at her parents' home 'Merton', High Street, Armadale.
198 Minnie Strickland founded Merton Ladies College in 1885.

the daughters of other residents willing to send them to her private school. Advertisements were regularly seen in the local newspaper until April 1871 (for example, see *Geelong Advertiser*, 26/1/1866). In August 1871, the *Geelong Advertiser* (1/8/1871) reported that Strickland gave an excellent lecture on the Aborigines of South Australia and also mentioned that he introduced to the audience his adopted Aboriginal son:

> In the course of his remarks he introduced a little boy belonging to one of the South Australian tribes, whom he has adopted into his own family, and gave a detailed account of the youth's ancestors. Several hymns were recited and sung by the boy referred to and two natives of China, who were also in attendance, and a very pleasant evening was spent (*Geelong Advertiser*, 1/8/1871).

A later issue revealed this child's name was David Strickland (*Geelong Advertiser*, 15/2/1872). Given Strickland's five years at Kapunda and Riverton it is possible that David Strickland was from the local Aboriginal language group the Ngadjuri.

Rev. Strickland also served as chaplain to inmates at the Geelong Hospital and Benevolent Asylum – visiting them on Fridays. In late 1874 when it was apparent that Strickland was considering leaving his ministry, the *Geelong Advertiser* published an article in which it was hoped he would change his mind and remain in the district (*Geelong Advertiser*, 21/12/1874). At a testimonial in Geelong to farewell Strickland in February 1875, he responded to the many speeches (*Geelong Advertiser*, 27/2/1875). In early 1877 Strickland left Victoria and went to Tasmania to take charge, temporarily, of a Baptist congregation (*Geelong Advertiser*, 2/3/1877). He went to the Harrington Street Church in Hobart (*Hobart Mercury*, 8/3/1877). In September 1877 he returned to Geelong to take up an appointment as Truant Inspector in the Geelong district however had to resign owing to a recent ankle injury that restricted his ability to walk (*Geelong Advertiser*, 8/9/1877). On 14 August 1878 the Board considered an application from Rev. F. Strickland – in his application he claimed knowledge of Aborigines in South Australia and Western Australia during his missionary life. The Board appointed Strickland at its meeting dated 26 August 1878 and asked him to take charge of the station from 20 September 1878 at a salary of £150 per annum and £50 per annum for his wife. In September 1878, Strickland was appointed Manager of Coranderrk. He served in this position until June 1882.

In November 1878, French anthropologist Désiré Charnay spent some time at Coranderrk: this was his impression of the Strickland family:

> The residence of the director, the reverend P. Strickland, is situated at the end of the village and on the edge of a mountain stream; I am received there with open arms, and large arms, I assure you, because he is a man of six feet, a benign figure. He presents me to his partner, almost as tall as him, and to his six daughters no less tall and one of whom is well the most beautiful person that I have seen in my life. This is a family of giants. … My arrival must bring a large disruption to

> this already confined residence: however it is while smiling that they move in haste, to deliver to me, the room of two young girls who are going to go sleep in the same bed.

Charnay witnessed the following exchange between Strickland and two the residents when Strickland requested them to go to work:

> One of them, whom Mister Strickland reproached on his laziness, engaging him to return to the hops field to work there, replied:
> "And yourself, why do you not work?"
> - But I work, the director told him; don't you see that I am in charge of you morning until night; that I think about your wellbeing and that I take care of your education and the development of your moral faculties?
> - Lovely work! delivered the black; oh! I could do well with as much; give me your place and take mine."
> Another more or less responded the same way to the superintendent who was doing the rounds in the village.
> "You want me to work, he told him, but you are big and fat and well paid and you don't do anything; no, I will not work. I will hunt." And he went.

On 27 January 1882, Strickland formally resigned. In his letter of resignation he wrote:

> ... a reason should be given for the step I have taken in resigning an appointment in which I had hoped to have been useful to a portion of the remnant of Aborigines now left in Victoria; the first year of my connection with this Station was remarkable for its confusion and frequent brawls ending in the use of fearful language and murderous attacks amongst the people on each other requiring the presence of the Police; but this state of things had entirely passed away. Peace and goodwill was established among the people with the exception of one or two malcontents whose conduct has at all times been productive of unpleasantness; but disobedience and ill will is now spread over the whole Station. I hereby deliberately and positively charge Mrs Bon and her colleague Dr Embling with being the cause of all the present unhappiness on the Station, the constant interference of the former and the injudicious suggestions of the latter have spread and fermented discontent and insubordination all around, under present circumstances both Mrs Strickland and myself are grieved and disheartened so that we feel [it] is our duty to resign (Australian Archives, 1993: 152).

Broome (2006: 12) has noted that 'Frederick Strickland was a decent man by John Green's account, but lacked Green's touch. The Kulin thought Strickland too cold and too distant. They complained that, unlike Green, Strickland did not mix with them, or visit them at work or when ill'. When Strickland's 'distance' was brought to his attention by a school teacher who visited Coranderrk, Strickland replied, 'When I first came here ... I used to go into the huts and talk with them, and they took advantage of it. I found I was losing my position. I was losing my control by undue familiarity'. Broome's assessment is that Strickland's authoritarian personality made him unyielding, and cites as evidence of this the fact that he prevented the residents from keeping their beloved dogs in their houses which caused the older residents to refuse to leave their traditional shelters. For Broome, Strickland failed the Aboriginal test of

right behaviour. Sarah Strickland was widely resented according to the women who spoke at the 1881 inquiry – 'she never came into our bedrooms to see if they were all right', she would send her daughters to 'give out the orders'. When the children in one family had an attack of scarlet fever Mrs Strickland refused to visit, sending her daughter Alice Strickland in her place, who stood in the street and threw supplies to the family (see Broome, 2006: 43.12).

Life after Coranderrk

In June 1883, living in Chappell St, East St Kilda, Strickland wrote to the board seeking a testimonial as he had been unable to gain a position since his resignation. In December 1883 Strickland returned to Geelong where he resumed his ministry – at the request of his old friends he consented to preach twice on Sundays in the Temperance Hall. By 1885 he was living at 'Merton', High Street, Armadale, from where his daughters ran a Ladies College, and he continued to work as a minister conducting weddings from his home. He died there in 1901.

William Goodall: June 1882 – January 1886

Background

William Goodall Jnr (b. 3/5/1846, Evandale, Tasmania: parents – William Goodall and Ellen (Helen) Baldock) was married to Julia Elizabeth Walker (b. 1843? – d. 2/2/1912 at her residence, 62 Moreland St, East Brunswick, in her 70th year – see *The Argus,* 3/2/1912). Her death notice claimed she was a colonist of 60 years. William died on 7 June 1923 at 'Evandale', Moreland St, Brunswick, aged 78 (Reg. # 4546). His death notice stated that he was 'Late of Framlingham and Coranderrk Aboriginal stations and Neglected Children's Department' (*The Argus,* 8/6/1923).

Immediate Family

William and Julia Goodall had 13 children between 1868 and 1887. One child was born at Coranderrk during his three-year tenure at the station.

- Helena Susan Goodall, (b. 1868, Warrnambool, Reg. # 26950 – d. 8/11/1953, Woronora River, N.S.W, aged 85, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9/11/1953); married David Miller (b. c. 1873 – d. 1900, aged 27, Warrnambool – Reg. # 2) in 1890, Warrnambool – Reg. # 7630; married Thomas Rowland (b.? – d. after 1953);
- Eliza Goodall, (b. 1869, Warrnambool, Reg. # 25697– d. 1941, aged 76, South Melbourne, Reg. # 1195) married Sylvester Patrick Carroll (b. 1870, Castlemaine – Reg. # 01290 – d. 1953, North Carlton, aged 83 – Reg. # 7580) in 1892;
- Arthur Henry Goodall, (b. 26 June 1871, Framlingham, Reg. # 20442 – see *Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 15/7/1871 – d. 1914).[199]

199 Buried in Methodist Compartment A, Grave 309, in the Coburg Cemetery with his sister Beatrice

- Richard Walker Goodall, (b. 24/9/1872, Framlingham, Reg. # 27034 – d. 1/12/1872, Wangoom, aged 9 weeks, Reg. # 10773);
- Edward Lionel Goodall, (b. 1874, Warrnambool, Reg. # 6085 – d. 1894? aged 20);[200]
- Jane Adelaide Goodall, (b. 1876, Framlingham, Reg. # 4604 – d. 1876, Framlingham, aged 9 months, Reg. # 10642);
- Christian Ogilvie (Gillie) Goodall,[201] (b. 21/4/1877, Purnim, Reg. # 10864 – d. 12/7/1903, aged 26, at his parent's house 'Hillcrest', Moreland Rd, Brunswick – *The Argus*, 13/7/1903);[202]
- Beatrice Alice Goodall,[203] (b. 1878, Purnim, Reg. # 24956 – d. 29/3/1907, aged 27, *The Argus*, 30/3/1907)[204] married Arthur Edgar Jones (b. 1872, Collingwood Reg. # 1552– d. 1960, Box Hill, aged 89 – Reg. # 5427), 2/9/1899 (*The Argus*, 16/9/18990;[205]
- Wilfred Gladstone Goodall[206] (b. 1880, Reg. # 18067 – d. 24/10/1943 aged 64, at Melbourne Hospital, Reg. # 11471 – see *The* Argus, 25/10/1943); married Margery Amy Strong (b. 1875 – d. after 1948);
- Percy William Goodall, (b. 1882, Warrnambool – Reg. # 26465 – d. 1900? aged 18);[207]
- Aubrey Hancock Goodall, (b. 1882, Warrnambool, Reg. # 26466 – d. 1882, Healesville, aged 4 months, Reg. # 12072);
- Nullore Nurndook Goodall,[208] (b. 26/1/1884, Coranderrk , Reg. # 09991 – d. 2/6/1955 at Alfred Hospital (funeral notice: see *The Argus*, 3/6/1955); married John Percival Griffiths (b. 1874 – d. 1963, aged 89, Reg. # 12032);
- Alma Audrey Goodall (b. 1887, Purnim, Reg. # 31199 – d. 13/4/1941, aged 52, Royal Melbourne Hospital – see Reg. # 3149 – *The Argus*, 14/4/1941), married Samuel Barr (b. 1882, Londonderry, Ireland? –d. 1933, aged 51, Prahran), of Londonderry, Ireland, on 3 April 1915 (*The Argus*, 17/4/1915) – see Reg. # 5168;[209] married David Thomas Clyde (b. 1897, Zeehan, Tasmania – d. 1950, Parkdale, aged 53 – Reg. # 11434) in 1936 – Reg. # 9849.

Alice Jones.

200 See *The Southwest Genealogist Newsletter* #108, September 2000.

201 Presumably named after Christian Splidt Ogilvie (see above).

202 Buried in Methodist Compartment A, Grave 311, in the Coburg Cemetery with his parents.

203 In some records the forenames are reversed.

204 Death notice incorrectly lists husband as Arthur K. Jones. Marriage notice gives his full name.

205 Marriage notice asserts Alice is 'third daughter'. The entry identifies Arthur Jones as working with Victoria Railways.

206 In some records the forenames are reversed.

207 See *The Southwest Genealogist Newsletter* #108, September 2000.

208 There is considerable confusion surrounding these personal names – some sites record Nullore-Nullore Nurm-Nurm Goole Goodall. The birth registration is Nullore Nurndook Goodall. The marriage registration is Mullore Nure Nwrm Gorok Goodall.

209 Marriage registration # 5168 misspells Barr as Parr – this is corrected in registration # 5168R.

Life before Coranderrk

According to Barwick (1998: 243) William Goodall's family had left Tasmania and settled in the Warrnambool district when he was a child. He had taught for three years at a local school before he was hired at the age of 23 to take charge of the newly formed Framlingham Aboriginal Station near Warrnambool. He was a close friend of John Green. William Goodall replaced Strickland in June 1882.

Life after Coranderrk

Goodall returned to Framlingham in January 1886, but his time there was short-lived as the Board went ahead with its plans to close the station. In 1889 he was transferred to the Neglected Children's Department in Melbourne. His last day of employment with the Aboriginal Board was 30 September 1889. In Melbourne Goodall made a home at 62 Moreland Street, Brunswick, naming his property 'Evandale' after his place of birth in Tasmania.

Joseph Shaw: January 1886 – June 1908

Background

Joseph Shaw (b. 1839, Bradfield, Yorkshire – d. 15/3/1909, 'Kooyura', Healesville, in his 70th year), arrived in Melbourne in December 1861 per 'Commodore Perry', aged 22. On 12 December 1871 he married a widow named Jessie Nevisan Hamilton (nee Smith)[210] (b. 1832, Dumfries, Scotland – d. 1925), at Camberwell (*The Argus*, 15/12/1871). At the time of his marriage he is recorded as 'missionary, Lake Condah' (*The Argus*, 15/12/1871).

Immediate Family

Joseph and Jessie Shaw had six children between 1873 and 1880:

- Joseph Ernest (Ernest) Shaw (b. 1873, South Melbourne, Reg. # 4277 – d. 1957, Healesville);
- Grace Marion Ethel (Ethel) Shaw (b. 1874, Tarnagulla, Reg. # 19657 – d. 31/7/1956, Camberwell – *The Argus*, 4/8/1956);
- Margaret Alice Priscilla Shaw (b. 1876, Tarnagulla – d. 6/1/1943, aged 67, 'Kooyura', Lilydale Rd, Healesville – *Healesville Guardian*, 9/1/1943);
- James Alexander Shaw (b. 1877, Tarnagulla, Reg. # 19057 – d. 1880, Poonindie, South Australia);

210 In some sources Nevison is spelt Nivison. Jessie Nevison Smith married Rev. Thomas Hamilton, Baptist Minister, Daylesford, on 3 January 1866 (*The Argus*, 9/1/1866). The marriage was short-lived – Rev. Thomas Hamilton died in Melbourne on 4 March 1867 (*The Argus*, 5/3/1867).

- Herbert Albert Shaw (b. 23/3/1879, Poonindie – d. 10/11/1945, Mornington – *The Argus*, 13/11/1945); married Clarice Meta Kelway (b. 1880 – d. 1960) on 3/6/1909, South Yarra (*The Prahran Telegraph*, 19/6/1909);
- William Buckley Shaw (b. 18/3/1880, Poonindie – d. 1880, Poonindie).

Life before Coranderrk

Ethel Shaw (1949) has published some biographical information on her father: she records that in 1862 he was accepted for missionary work by the C.M.S., and sent to the Yelta Mission on the Murray River, near Wentworth, which had been established in 1854. In 1866 the growth of the town of Wentworth and the availability of alcohol were concerning the C.M.S. committee and they began to consider other possible locations. The kindness the Yandruwandha Aboriginal people of Cooper Creek had shown the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition had impressed the people of Melbourne and the C.M.S. Committee considered Cooper Creek may be a suitable location for their missionary operations. They sent Shaw and Holden to make an extensive tour up the Darling River to the Paroo, Bulla, Wilson, and Barcoo creeks, and thence to Cooper Creek with the object of studying the number, habits, and condition of the Aboriginal people, the nature of the country, and report on the advisability of establishing a mission on or near Cooper Creek. They left Yelta on 18 January 1867 and reached their destination Cooper Creek on 10 August, they returned to Yelta on 15 November. After considering the difficulties in establishing a mission on the Cooper, the committee abandoned the idea. Yelta was closed in 1868. His daughter, Ethel, summarized Joseph Shaw's qualifications:

> He had had years of experience among the Aborigines at the Yelta Mission on the River Murray, and had also been in charge of Poonindie Mission, in South Australia. Poonindie was self-supporting, wheat and sheep being the staple products. These years of experience among the Aboriginals in their wild state, and practical knowledge of farm and station work, made him especially fitted for the difficult task at Coranderrk. Infinite patience and forbearance were required in dealing with the people who had been so unsettled. It took some time to restore order; the wiser members of the community were ready to co-operate in plans for the welfare of all on the station, but a few remained obdurate for some time (Shaw, 1949: 15).

Joseph Shaw had been appointed school master at Coranderrk in September 1882 at a wage of £200 per annum. At the time of his appointment the Board asked if Mrs Shaw would be available to take sewing classes for the girls on the station. In January 1886 Goodall was transferred to Framlingham, and Joseph Shaw was appointed manager of Coranderrk.

Ethel Shaw and John Mackie temporary managers 1/4/1903 – October 1903

In 1903, Shaw was given six month's leave of absence; in his absence his daughter Ethel Shaw served as matron, and John Mackie, the former school teacher, first appointed in 1886, came out of retirement to serve as Acting Manager. Ethel Shaw (1949: 30) recalled that Mackie was liked by the Coranderrk residents. John Mackie explained in his report to the Board that he took charge of the station on 1 April as acting manager for six months during the absence on leave of Mr Shaw. He informed the Board there had 'been no unusual trouble in the management of the people. In this connexion I have to acknowledge the great help I have received from Miss Shaw. The comparative peace and quietness of the three months I have been here are largely due to her untiring energy and forethought'. Mackie confirmed that 'The women, besides their home duties, make mats and baskets, for which they earn a good deal of money'.

When the Shaws returned from their overseas holiday a welcome home party was held at Coranderrk on 4 September – it involved a long programme of songs, glees, and recitations. Gifts were also presented to Miss Shaw and Mr Mackie for their service:

> Then an address of welcome was read by Mr. Robert Wandin, a man respected throughout the district for his upright Christian character, and who has been on the station since its foundation. ''The address was as follows:--"Dear Mr. and Mrs. Shaw,- We, the residents on the Coranderrk Station, do hereby give you a heartfelt welcome home, after an absence of six months, during which you have visited your native land and seen friends from whom you had been long separated. We thank God that he has kept you in safety, and preserved you from danger, seen and unseen, while you journeyed over the mighty ocean, by night and by day. We are glad to have you among us again; and trust that your holiday has done you much good, and that, you will be spared for many years to go out and in among us. We are sorry to say that death has entered our little community during your absence; and that you will miss two with whom you have been long familiar. In conclusion, we thank you must heartily for the great kindness and consideration we have received from you in the past. And we pray that God's best blessings may be yours, and also that of our gracious Saviour who has said that even a cup of cold water given in his name shall in no wise lose its reward. And that when all life's trials are over we may greet you in that home above, to which you have ever tried to lead us." ... The only note of sadness was the death of King William Barak, whose consistent Christian character would be greatly missed on the station. ... Mr. H. Clark then came before the audience in warlike attitude, and addressing the chairman, said: "Mr. Mackie, I am requested by the men on the station to ask you to accept this beautiful set of native weapons as an expression of their gratitude for your kindness to them during the time you have filled Mr. Shaw's place." Mr. Mackie said the presentation had taken him by surprise. He thanked them for the gift and the kindness which had prompted it. He valued them very highly. It would always remind him of the time he had spent among them. Mrs. Wandin then handed to the chairman a biscuit barrel and butter dish, and, asked him to present them to Miss Shaw, from the women of the station, as an expression of their gratitude for her untiring kindness and attention at a time of much sickness during Mrs. Shaw's absence. Miss Shaw was also taken by surprise. Mr. Shaw, in a few fervent words, thanked the women for this mark of appreciation of his daughter's services (*Healesville & Yarra Guardian*, 12/9/1903).

Life after Coranderrk

Joseph Shaw retired in June 1908 and went to live in Healesville at 'Kooyura' on the Lilydale Rd. He died eight months into his retirement. The local paper published an obituary (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 19/3/1909).

John Mackie and Frank Tyers Bulmer (acting managers): June 1908 – January 1909

Shaw retired in June 1908, and pending a permanent appointment, the station was put in the hands of John Mackie and Frank Tyers Bulmer, the son of John Bulmer and Caroline Blay, the manager of Lake Tyers station. They remained in that role until January 1909 when the Robarts were appointed.

Background

John Mackie was born in 1834, the son of John Mackie and Elizabeth Sheriffs, of Fettercairn, Kincardineshire, near Montrose, Angus, Scotland. He died on 2 May 1923 at his residence at St Georges Rd, Malvern, aged 89 (Reg. # 6478). He was survived by four sons and a daughter. Mackie married Catherine Gow Ross (b. 1850, Fettercairn, Scotland) on 2 April 1874 (Reg. # 2142 – *The Argus*, 6/4/1874). Catherine Gow Ross died on 18 June 1920 (*The Argus*, 19/6/1920).

Immediate Family

John and Catherine had seven children between 1875 and 1890. Their two youngest children were born at Healesville whilst Mackie was in service at Coranderrk.

- John Hope Mackie, (b. 6/1/1875, Toorak, Reg. # 5979 – *The Telegraph, St Kilda, Prahran and South Yarra Guardian*, 16/1/1875 – d. 18/6/1879, aged 4 years and 4 months, Reg. # 3920).
- David Ross Mackie, (b. 1877, Burrumbeet, Reg. # 7158 – d. 12/4/1937, aged 59, Reg. # 14707) (*The Argus*, 17/4/1937; 31/3/1938); he married Margaret Isabella Robertson Munro (b.1876, Prahran – Reg. # 11364 – d. 17/4/1954, *The Argus*, 19/4/1954) on 18 November 1903 (*The Argus*, 5/12/1903).
- George Sheriffs Mackie, (b. 1880, Burrumbeet, Reg. # 13845 – 1967, Armadale, aged 87, Reg. # 25911);[211]
- Alexander Hope Mackie, (b. 1882, Burwood, reg. # 14233 – d. 1968, Melbourne, aged 86 – Reg. # 20019);[212]
- Robert Miller Mackie, (b. 1884, Burwood, Reg. # 22805 – d. 1964, Heidelberg – Reg. # 13315); married Ada Frances Eyre (b. 23/6/1884, Brunswick – Reg. # 14907–

211 Death registration spells surname as Mckie

212 Death Registration spells surname as Mckie.

d. 10/4/1942, aged 57, Black Rock – Reg. # 3481)[213] on 8 April 1915 (*The Argus*, 22/4/1915).
- Hope Milne Mackie, (b. 1887, Healesville, Reg. # 11778 – d. 15/9/1892, aged 5 years 4 months, Healesville, Reg. # 10880).
- Jessie Smith Mackie (b. 1890, Healesville, Reg. # 4325 – d. 1974, Kyneton (reg. # 01169), married Cluny Campbell MacPherson (Mcpherson) (b. 1890, Nhill, Reg. # 34996 – d. 1957, Reg. # 12898) on 3 April 1918 (*The Argus*, 2/5/1918).

Life before Coranderrk

Mackie's parents and family arrived in Victoria in April 1853 per 'Wanderer' and settled in the Burrumbeet district near Ballarat. John Mackie was a teacher at Burrumbeet from 1864 until 1884, including a year on the staff at Scotch College.[214] Mackie was appointed teacher at Coranderrk in September 1886 (Victoria, 1887: 5). According to Barwick (1998: 306) he was dismissed by the Board in 1890 for criticisms about Joseph Shaw's management of the station.

Life after Coranderrk

The Board returned to the retired Mackie in 1908 when they needed a short-term manager once Shaw had retired.

Frank Tyers Bulmer (acting manager) and Ethel Bulmer (acting Matron): June 1908 – January 1909

Shaw retired in June 1908, and pending a permanent appointment, the station was put in the hands of John Mackie and Frank Tyers Bulmer, the son of John Bulmer and Caroline Blay, the manager of Lake Tyers station. Ethel Bulmer, Frank's sister, in January 1908 was at Coranderrk as relieving matron (Pepper & De Araugo, 1985: 230). Bulmer and Mackie remained in their temporary roles until January 1909 when the Robarts were appointed.

Background

Frank Tyers Bulmer (b. 1878, Reg. # 23937, Lake Tyers – d. 1963, Orbost, Reg. # 20012, aged 84); married Edith May Powell (b. 1879, Brunswick – d. 1946, Orbost) in 1909.

Immediate Family

Frank Tyers Bulmer and Edith May Powell had three children from 1911 – 1915:
- Amy Caroline Bulmer (b. 1911, Bairnsdale, Reg. # 8338 – d. 1979, Bairnsdale, aged 68, Reg. # 19855);

213 http://www.eyrehistory.net/australia_CVJ/fam6.php
214 https://www.scotch.vic.edu.au/greatscot/2010mayGS/80.htm

- Charles Frank Bulmer (b. 1913, Cunninghame, Reg. # 11588 –d? [living in 1980 –see Australian Electoral Rolls).
- Jean Alice Bulmer (b. 1915, Bairnsdale, Reg. # 294 – d. 6/8/1987, Bairnsdale);
- Ethel Caroline Bulmer (b. c. 1881, Lake Tyers – d. 1960, Wonthaggi) married Andrew Hamilton Davidson (b.1873 – d. 1952, aged 79, Wonthaggi) in 1929, in Coburg.

Life before Coranderrk

Frank Tyers Bulmer's parents were John Bulmer and Caroline Blay who were closely associated with the Lake Tyers Aboriginal station, after which Frank was named. [215] John Bulmer (1833–1913) and Caroline Blay (1839–1918) had eleven children from 1863–1886. Frank Tyers Bulmer was their eighth child and was born at the Lake Tyers mission.

The *Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian* (4/9/1908) announced the temporary appointments of Frank Bulmer and Ethel Bulmer, though made no mention of the return of John Mackie:

> Mr and Miss Bulmer, whose father for some years supervised the Lake Tyers aborigines' station, have been installed temporarily as superintendent and matron at Coranderrk. The Board is apparently unable to arrive at a final decision as to whom Mr and Mrs Shaw's successors shall be, but it might be pointed out that the delay which is taking place is not conducive to the best interests of Coranderrk and its dusky inhabitants.

In 1905 Frank Bulmer began to assist his father with his work at Lake Tyers Aboriginal station. He helped his father repair the buildings at Lake Tyers, and his father 'reported that this was a great comfort to the people and an improvement to the station and asked if Frank could be appointed his assistant and authorised to carry on in case of an emergency. He suggested Frank should receive a regular payment for his work' (Pepper & De Araugo, 1985: 227). However the Board had decided that a Captain Howe would be appointed assistant manager, but it agreed to keep Frank Tyers on at £1 per week. On 1 January 1908, Howe was appointed Manager at Lake Tyers and Frank Bulmer was appointed assistant manager and offered £60 per annum plus living quarters and rations. Frank Tyers Bulmer was acting manager along with John Mackie of Coranderrk for six months before the Robarts commenced on 11 January 1909.

Life after Coranderrk

After his temporary position at Coranderrk had ended, Frank Bulmer sought an appointment with the Board at one of its stations, however, he was warned about the

215 For a biography of John Bulmer see http://webjournals.ac.edu.au/journals/adeb/b_/bulmer-john-1833–1913/

future of working for the Board as its stations were emptying quickly and his position was anything but secure (Pepper & De Araugo, 1985: 233). In 1913, Frank and his sister Ethel Bulmer resided on Lake Tyers station. Son Frank, who John Bulmer had once hoped would take over from him as manager, was on a salary as an assistant to Howe, while Ethel, who had earlier returned to Lake Tyers to act as matron there until Howe's wife could take up that duty, was now taking Sunday School and playing the church organ in return for her rations. In October 1917 Frank Bulmer was acting manager at Lake Tyers for a month until Bruce Ferguson was appointed, and Bulmer was retained his assistant until December 1917 (Pepper & De Araugo, 1985: 242). Philip Pepper (1980: 79) recalled that the Aboriginal people of Lake Tyers 'like Frank Bulmer and they wanted him as the manager, but he wasn't'.

Charles and Natalie Robarts: January 1909 – February 1924

Background

Charles Alfred Robarts (b. 25/4/1867,[216] Bung Bong, Avoca, Victoria – d. 27/10/1934, Canterbury, *The Argus*, 2/11/1934); married Natalie Anna Leuba on 16 May 1899 at Hawthorn (*The Argus*, 24/6/1899). Natalie (Natal) Anna Leuba (b. 1866, Colombier, Brazil – d. 23/12/1947 – *The Argus*, 26/12/1947).

Immediate Family

Charles and Natalie Robarts had three children between 1900 and 1905:

- Oswald Charles Robarts (b. 12/5/1900, at 'The Heights', Healesville – *The Argus*, 19/5/1900 – d. 1957 Kew; married Iris Sarah [Sara] Hook (b. 1907 Lake Boga – d. c. 1977, Kew) in 1926;
- Maurice D'Osterwald Robarts (b. 16/3/1902, at 'The Heights', Healesville – *The Argus*, 24/5/1902 – d. 1990 Adelaide). Married Edna Marion Watson (b. 24/7/1901– d. 3/1998) on 7/10/1925 at St Peter's Church of England, Brighton Beach (*The Argus*, 7/11/1925). Second marriage to Verna Daniels – they lived at Heathpool, South Australia, until his death in 1990;
- Natalie [Nathalie] Jean Robarts (b. 1905, Healesville – d. 31/8/1935, at 322 Cotham Rd, Kew, aged 30 – *The Argus*, 2/9/1935); married Henry Guy Beecham (b.1902? – d. December 1976, aged 74, Warrnambool – see Reg. # 99)[217] in 1924 – see Reg. 13249.[218]

216 A genealogy in the family's possession records a birth date of 16 May 1867.

217 Death registration was in early 1977.

218 Marriage registration records Henry Grey Beecham.

Life before Coranderrk

The Robarts family had left Wales in 1852 to join the Victorian gold rush. Abandoning the search for gold, the brothers gradually moved to the Yarra Valley area. In 1860 they bought land and called the property Singleton and later acquired more land in Avoca, which they farmed. Charles Alfred Robarts was the first born of ten children. In 1890 Charles Robarts' father and two of his brothers Cyrus and Ernest, bought virgin forest land on the top of Mt. Toole-be-Wong (near Healesville) and a little later the family left Seville going to Mt. Little Joe's lower slopes. They also bought a property "Due Vue" two miles from Launching Place near the western end of Mt. Toole-be-Wong. After their marriage Charles and Natalie Robarts lived at 'The Heights' near Mt Toole-be-wong. Charles Alfred Robarts served as councillor on Healesville Shire Council for three years from 1903–06.

Aldo Massola (1975: 61–2) published the following biographical note on Natalie Robarts from information he received from her son, Maurice.

> Mrs Natalie Robarts was born in Brazil in 1866, the third of four children born to Ernest Leuba and Anna Marie (nee Herr). Both her parents were Swiss, from the Canton Neuchatel, though they met in Victoria. Ernest arrived in 1853, and was later employed as a horse breaker by Hubert de Castella and Guillaume de Pury on their property (Dalry) about six miles from Healesville. Miss Herr was governess to the Deschamps family of Lilydale, who were also vignerons. They were married early in 1862 and Mrs Leuba gave birth to a daughter (Yarra Eugene) in November of that year. About six weeks later the young couple returned to Switzerland, but they did not remain there long, for in 1863 they went to Brazil, having bought an interest in a cotton plantation. There a son (Samuel) and then a daughter (Natalie in 1866) were born. That year saw the abolition of slavery, and this spelt the ruin of many planters; they returned to Switzerland where a second son (Charles) was born. In 1868 Ernest left the family in Switzerland and went to Fiji, where he bought an island on which to commence a plantation. But one night in either October or November 1870, he was murdered in his sleep by some natives whom he had recruited to work on the plantation. The eldest son, Samuel, returned to Victoria in 1873 and the rest of the family followed in October 1874; Natalie became for a time governess to the Syme family of the Melbourne newspaper, *The Age*, who then owned Dalry.[219] Later she settled in Healesville, where she met and married Charles A. Robarts, (originally from Avoca), a farmer on Mount Toole-be-wong, where his parents ran Nyora, a large guest house. Mrs Robarts is described as having been of average build and good looking, lady-like in appearance and dress, well-educated and well read, and with deep religious feelings. A bright person, she was prone to see the best side of everyone and everything, and was always optimistic about the future. She wrote several children stories based on events at Coranderrk and some were published in magazines or read over the radio in or about 1935. A more serious work was a paper on 'The Victorian Aborigine as He is' which she wrote for presentation at the XIV Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science held at Melbourne in 1913. … Mrs Natalie Robarts died in February 1948.

1909: announcement of appointment as superintendent of the Coranderrk station:

219 Francis Syme, the second son of David Syme, lived at Dalry.

> Mr C.T. [sic] Robarts, of "Nyora," Healesville, has been permanently appointed by the Aborigines Supervision Board as the superintendent of the Coranderrk station, and he formally entered upon his duties on Monday last. Mrs Robarts will, as a matter of course serve as matron. There were no fewer than 102 applications for the position. Since the retirement of Mr and [Mrs] Shaw, Mr and Miss Bulmer have superintended the station, evidently to the satisfaction of all concerned. They have now returned to Melbourne (*Healesville and Yarra Glen Guardian*, 15/1/1909).

Life after Coranderrk

1924 February: Charles Robarts relinquished duties at Coranderrk and was appointed an inspector of the Neglected Children and Reformatory schools (*Northern Star*, 24/5/1924).

1924: June. Natalie Robarts attended the half-yearly Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) conference which was held at the Dana Street Hall, Ballarat. She 'pleaded for the closing of hotels in the interests of the aborigines of Victoria. The law prohibited their being supplied with drink, but that law was broken' (*The Horsham Times*, 17/6/1924).

1934: 10 February. Natalie Robarts published 'Leaves from a pioneer's Diary', reminiscences from her father-in-law, in *The Australasian*.

1934: Charles Alfred Robarts died: Death notice in *The Age* (27/10/1934)

1947: death of Natalie Robarts, at time of her death she was living at 'Ivy Grange', Princess Street, Kew; formerly of 15 Foilaclugh Ave, Elwood. Obituary – see *The Argus*, 26/12/1947; Probate notice – see *The Argus*, 20/2/1948.

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